



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**THE SYRIAN MIGRATION CRISIS AND FRANCE (2011 –  
2019): AN ANALYSIS WITHIN THE PUSH AND PULL  
FRAMEWORK**

AYBÜKE ERGÜL

SUPERVISOR: ASST. PROF. HÜSEYİN EMRAH KARAOĞUZ

MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, OCTOBER, 2020

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SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF KADIR HAS  
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DEGREE OF MASTER'S IN THE PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

ISTANBUL, OCTOBER, 2020

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This work entitled **THE SYRIAN MIGRATION CRISIS AND FRANCE (2011 – 2019): AN ANALYSIS WITHIN THE PUSH AND PULL FRAMEWORK** prepared by **AYBÜKE ERGÜL** has been judged to be successful at the defense exam held on **02/10/2020** and accepted by our jury as **TYPE OF THE THESIS**.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	Fédération du réseau de Développement Apicole
CADA	Centre d'Accueil de Demandeurs d'Asile
CEA	Common European Asylum
CESEDA	Code de l'Entrée et du Séjour des Etrangers et du Droit d'Asile
CFCM	Conseil Français du Culte Musulman
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CS	Copenhagen School
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
EASO	European Asylum Support Organization
EC	European Commission
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EU	European Union
GAM	Global Approach to Migration
GAMM	Global Approach to Migration and Mobility
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IR	International Relations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFFI	French Office for Immigration and Integration
OFPRA	Office Français de Protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides
RIC	Republican Integration Contract
SNHR	Syrian Network for Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UMP	Union of Moderate Party
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
US	United States
USA	United States of America



THE THE SYRIAN MIGRATION CRISIS AND FRANCE (2011 – 2019): AN  
ANALYSIS WITHIN THE PUSH AND PULL FRAMEWORK

**ABSTRACT**

The thesis is about the Syrian migration Crisis's effects on France, France's actions and the European Union's actions for this migration crisis during 2011 and 2019. The central research question is "*How the Syrian Civil War of 2011 and Its Refugee Crisis have affected France and what are the actions taken by France and the European Union between 2011- 2019?*".

After the Syrian Civil War, Syrian people's living conditions have gotten poorest and they have to migrate to other countries. Syrian refugees prefer to go to Europe to have a better life. In this thesis our chosen area is; France and during the thesis, the Syrian crisis's migration effect on France and France's and the European Union's actions will be discussed. Besides, the living condition of Syrian migrants, French people's reactions to Syrian refugees, French Media's responses, and the French law of migrations will be handled too. The used method for this thesis is the Case Study method. While making analysis, the Push and Pull theory, and the European Union's Immigration Policy will be used so that the issue can be categorized and understood better. At the end of the thesis the question of "*How the Syrian Civil War of 2011 and Its Refugee Crisis have affected France and what are the actions taken by France and the European Union between 2011- 2019?*", will be answered.

**Keywords:** Syrian Refugee Crisis, Migration, the European Union's Migration Policies, Migration's Effect on France, Syrian Civil War.

SURIYE GÖÇMEN KRİZİ VE FRANSA (2011 – 2019): İTME VE ÇEKME  
KURAMI KAPSAMINDA ARAŞTIRMA

**ÖZET**

Yazılmış olan tez, Suriye Göçmen Krizinin Fransa Üzerindeki Etkisini ve Fransa ile Avrupa Birliğinin Göçmen Krizine Bakış Açısını 2011 ve 2019 yıllarına göre incelemektedir. Tezin ana araştırma sorusu “*2011 yılındaki Suriye Sivil Savaşı ve Suriye Göçmen Krizi Fransa’yı nasıl etkilemiştir ve Fransa ile Avrupa Birliğinin 2011 ve 2019 yılları arasındaki aksiyonları nelerdir?*” ’dir.

Suriye Sivil Savaşından sonra, Suriyeli halkın yaşam şartları kötüleşmiştir ve halk başka ülkelere göç etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Suriyeli göçmenler daha iyi bir hayat yaşayabilmek adına Avrupa ülkelerine gitmeyi tercih etmektedirler. Tez yazılırken Durum Çalışması methodu kullanılmıştır. Tez için incelenecek olan ülke Fransa’dır. Tez boyunca Suriye Krizinin Fransa üzerindeki göç etkileri ve Fransa ile Avrupa Birliğinin aldığı aksiyonlar tartışılacaktır. Ek olarak, Suriyeli göçmenlerin yaşam koşulları, Fransız halkın Suriyeli göçmenler hakkındaki düşünceleri, Fransız mediasındaki haberler ve Fransız göç kanunları ele alınacaktır. Analizler yapılırken, İtme – Çekme kuramı ve Avrupa Birliğinin Göç Politikası kullanılmıştır. Tezin sonunda “*2011 yılındaki Suriye Sivil Savaşı ve Suriye Göçmen Krizi Fransa’yı nasıl etkilemiştir ve Fransa ile Avrupa Birliğinin 2011 ve 2019 yılları arasındaki aksiyonları nelerdir?*” sorusunun cevabı verilecektir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Suriye Göçmen Krizi, Göç, Avrupa Birliği’nin Göç Politikaları, Göçün Fransa Üzerine Etkisi, Suriye İç Savaşı.

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To my sister Kardelen ERGÜL,

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

What are the consequences of the Syrian Civil War of 2011? Why the Syrian Refugee Crisis prefer to migrate to France and what are the reactions of French people? How the term migration was defined? What are the theories related to migration? What are the types of migration and related policies? What are the European Union's actions on the refugee crisis? What are the EU's migration policies? How was the relationship between Syria and France before the crisis and after the crisis? What are the living conditions of Syrian refugees in France? How did the French media (20 Minutes Newspaper) cover the Paris attack? What are the push and pull factors of migration? This thesis speaks to the literature of International Relations (IR) and International Migration with a focus on these and alike questions.

This work engages with the existing theories and benefits from existing scholarly works but since the thesis is the first analysis made for Syrian migration crisis' effects on France's case by using push and pull theory, it does not take root in other works. Push and Pull theory is the one concept of focus for the analysis. The Push and Pull theory will be used to see why some people prefer to migrate to another country and to see why some countries attract or disattract migrants. In the literature we can observe that, academicians like Jihan Abdalla (Europe's Refugee Crisis: Right-Wing Populism and Mainstream Cooption in Germany and France), Christian Lequesne (French foreign and security challenges after the Paris terrorist attacks) are working on the related topic. The differences between their work and this thesis are the main concept of migration, migrations' effect on France and the time period examined.

As for the empirical analysis, the thesis answers different questions throughout the chapters. Consequently, in order to focus on the main hypotheses, it implies the case study method. Thus, in order to understand the main question, the second chapter focuses on the definition of migration and the theoretical frameworks such as Push and Pull theory. Moreover, the third chapter focuses on the background information and the Syrian Civil war and Syria as a Push Factors. The fourth chapter focuses the case study's main areas are France's migration policies, French media (20 Minutes

Newspaper), French people's reactions and France as a Pull Factors. In the fifth chapter on the European Union's foundation, EU's migration policies and the EU as a Pull Factors.

### **Central Research Question**

This work aims to analyze the effects of the Syrian Refugee crisis on France and observe the consequences of this migration on French people. The broad central research question is, *“How the Syrian Civil War of 2011 and Its Refugee Crisis have affected France and what were the actions taken by France and the European Union between 2011- 2019?”*.

### **Methodology and Data Sources**

This thesis applies the qualitative research method in order to highlight the socio-economic condition of France which was affected by the Syrian migrants. During the thesis many academician's publications, the French newspapers, the European Unions' declarations, the United Nation's publications, UNHRC, and UNHCR's declarations were used as the main sources.

### **Road Map of the Thesis**

This thesis is structured as four chapters, plus the introduction and conclusion. The introduction briefly outlines the main characteristics of this research and creates the ground for the next chapter. Respectively, the second chapter focuses on the definition of migration and theoretical framework such as Push and Pull theory. Moreover, the third chapter focuses on the background information and the Syrian Civil war and the Push Factors. In the fourth chapter the case study's main area was France's migration policies, French media (20 Minutes Newspaper), French people's reactions and France as a Pull Factors. The fifth chapter focuses on the European Union's foundation, EU's migration policies and the EU as a Pull Factors. Finally, the conclusion of this thesis

sums up the main arguments of the previous chapters, formulates the limitations of this work, and offers the future research agenda.



## **CHAPTER 2: MIGRATION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PUSH AND PULL FACTORS**

### **2.1. INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter the definition of migration, the types of migration, and migration-related policies will be explained. Theories of migration (Push-Pull Theory of Migration) will be discussed. With the help of this theory, the main reasons for the migration can be understood, especially the reasons behind the Syrian Migration Crisis.

Migration is the population movement that can be seen all over the world. It has been studied according to various disciplines and perspectives since there are different types of migration. Dictionaries express migration as “the process of people or communities move from a country to another because of economical, social, and political reasons.”<sup>1</sup> Migration has negative and positive effects on both people and communities.

When we examine the reasons for migration, we are able to see the reasons are coming from the society’s own structure. Wars decrease in natural resources and economic problems, human rights violations, and an increase in population are reasons for migration. With migration, people’s traditions and culture also migrate. So, the socio-cultural structure of immigrants blends with the socio-cultural structure of the migrated society. Some of the immigrants are assimilated and forget about their culture. For these reasons, we can say that migration is a global problem. In the next section Williams, N.,

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<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, Migration: meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/migration>



Efendic, A.'s and Natasja Reslow's works will be used to understand the reasons of migration.

Up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, people are sent from Africa to Europe and from Europe to America because of the slave trade. Migration became an agenda after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War and different points of view are shaped from every discipline.

The strongest problem of migration is illegal migration that has started in the 1990s. Especially after the Cold War, globalization became prominent in a monopolar world. Some of the countries collapsed during this period. That way, international migration increased. Illegal migrations affected the developing countries as well as it affected the developed countries. There are three types that can be pointed out from illegal migration: "Transit Migration", "Target Country", "Country of Origin".<sup>2</sup> The Transit Migration is the term used to explain different version of temporary migrants. The Target Country is the term used to refer to the destination. The Country of Origin specify the migrant's home country. For example; If a Syrian refugee wants to migrate to France and before going to France, this refugee is going to Turkey to arrange his papers before going abroad; the county of origin is Syria, the transit country is Turkey and the target country is France.

Migration is not a stable case; it is a process that can be perceived with cause-effect relation. In literature, migration types are split into three according to cause, duration, and place.<sup>3</sup>

Migrations that are according to cause are split into two as mandatory and voluntary. Mandatory migrations are the migration type that people are forced to migrate by various forces. Slavery and running away from war are regarded as mandatory

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<sup>2</sup> Şule Toktaş, "Transit and Receiving Countries: Refugee Protection Policies in Belgium, Slovenia, Greece, and Turkey," *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 1&2, pp: 1-30, 2006, (with Aspasia Papadopoulou, Mila Paspalanova and Natalija Vrečer).

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, *Manual VI- Methods of Measuring Internal Migration*. (2020, January 14). Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/manuals/migration/manual6/pref.pdf>

migration. Voluntary migrations are optional migrations. Moving to another country arbitrarily or brain drain are examples of voluntary migration.

Secondly, migrations according to duration are split into two as continuous and temporary. Moving to a country is continuous migration, seasonal agriculture workers are temporary migration.

Thirdly, migrations according to place are split to two as internal migration and external migration. Migrations from a city to another city in the same country is internal migration. Staying or working for long durations between different countries or migrations to move to another country are external migrations.<sup>4 5</sup>

At the end of the thesis we can understand what are the push factors for migrants to leave their home country, and what are the pull factors for migrants to choose their target country with the help of the push and pull factors theory.

## **2.2. REASONS OF MIGRATION AND HISTORICAL PROCESS**

During the Paleolithic era, it is hard to define the movement of people as migration since they were not adopted a sedentary life. These changes of locations can be defined as “continuous migration” or “nomadism”.<sup>6</sup> People are forced to change places because of running short of natural resources, climate conditions, and other natural events. In the Neolithic era, people settled by taming some animals and discovering agriculture. Movement of people in the Neolithic era can be defined as modern migration.

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<sup>4</sup> Williams, N., Efendic, A. Internal displacement and external migration in a post-conflict economy: Perceptions of institutions among migrant entrepreneurs. *J Int Entrep* 17, 558–585 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10843-019-00244-5>

<sup>5</sup> Natasja Reslow (2019) Horizontal and Vertical Diversity: Unintended Consequences of EU External Migration Policy, *The International Spectator*, 54:1, 31-44, DOI: 10.1080/03932729.2019.1548840

<sup>6</sup> Overbeek, J. (1982). *Population: an introduction*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. p. 157

People from different societies started to live together and affected each other because of migration. Even though the main reasons for migration are population problems, economic problems, environmental disruption, and political problems, immigrants may cause the same problems in the country that they immigrated to. The core of migration is the desire to reach a better life standard. In general, migrations are from less developed countries to developed countries.

There are mainly four migration models. First, the “Classical Migration” model is an application that encourages migration. The main goal of this classical migration is to have a better quality of life with high wages, more secured life, and a better education. Secondly, “Migration Based on Historical Links” is the migration relation such as between countries like France and their former colonies. Thirdly, the “Guest Worker Model” is to accept guest workers from other countries based on daily conditions. Lastly, the “Illegal Migration” model is increasing due to more strict migration policies of countries.<sup>7</sup>

### **2.3. INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS ABOUT IMMIGRANTS (REGULATIONS ABOUT MIGRATION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW)**

The major countries that went to war (especially 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> World War) like the UK, France, Italy, Germany caused people to immigrate and adopt new countries. During this period, various legal regulations were published. These major countries are the most affected and most troubled countries from migration. In addition to Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ Article 14;

*“Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution...”*

many national and international treaties have been signed through to history to solve problems of migration. The most prominent ones, Geneva Convention, New York Protocol About Refugees’ Legal Status, Arab Convention on Regulating Status of Refugees and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees will be explained.

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<sup>7</sup>Research on Migration- European Commission. (2016). Retrieved from [http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/policy\\_reviews/ki-04-15-841\\_en\\_n.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/policy_reviews/ki-04-15-841_en_n.pdf) . p. 47-48

- **Geneva Convention of 1951**

The first migration wave had occurred after the 1<sup>st</sup> World War and organizations that were founded to solve the refugee crisis had failed. After the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the number of refugees increased with increasing fear and security concerns. United Nations started to take action against this situation.

As a result of the studies that were conducted by the committee established in 1948, the 1951 Geneva Pact about refugees' legal state is approved and adopted.<sup>8</sup> Geneva Convention describes the term refugee as;

*“As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social groups or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”<sup>9</sup> (Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees - Article 1. (2))*

According to the Geneva Convention rights of the refugees can be listed within these categories: Protection from deportation, protection from discrimination, the security of living, liberty and self, asylum, protection from humiliating acts such as torturing, protection from slavery, the right to trial and protection from detention, freedom of thought, religion, conscience and speech, protection of civil rights, social security, education, housing and shelters, health, travel within the country, integration, and citizenship, working and property.

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<sup>8</sup> United Nations. (1951.). Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/protection/basic/3b66c2aa10/convention-protocol-relating-status-refugees.html> p.2

<sup>9</sup> UNHCR, (1951) Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/4ae57b489.pdf> p.1

- **1967 New York Protocol About Refugees' Legal Status**

Even though Geneva Pact is taken as the baseline, the need for change and addition had occurred with time. Because of that, the UN prepared and submitted for signature the 1967 New York Protocol in order to make changes in Geneva Pact. The protocol that is accepted in New York on 16 December 1966 becomes valid on 4 October 1967. Geneva Pact is signed by 145 countries and the 1967 New York Protocol is signed by 146 countries. 142 countries signed both of the documents. Madagascar, Saint Kitts, and Nevis had signed only the Geneva Pact, and the USA, Cape Verde, and Venezuela had signed only the 1967 New York Protocol.

- **Protocol Relating to The Status of Refugees**

The Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees has been adopted in the 14th of December 1967 by the UN General Assembly. The most important feature of it is that it mentions the right of asylum. It develops the rights given by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The principles set in this protocol are not binding and they only act as advisory pieces to the governments. The conditions of asylum are set to be governments and governments can get help from other governments and/or the United Nations if asylum requests are beyond their capacity. It states; "If a refugee enters the country, they want to take refuge in they should not be faced with measures such as deportation or forced return." (Article 31. 1.)

- **Arab Convention on Regulating Status of Refugees**

Arab Convention on Regulating Status of Refugees has been signed in 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1994 as a regional protocol to overcome the deficiencies of previous protocol such as the lack of the definitions<sup>10 11</sup> The protocol defines the term refugee as;

*"Any person who is outside the country of his nationality or outside his habitual place of residence in case of not having a nationality and owing to well-grounded fear of being persecuted on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social*

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<sup>10</sup> League of Arab States, Arab Convention on Regulating Status of Refugees in the Arab Countries, 1994, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4dd5123f2.html>

<sup>11</sup> Csorba, P. F. (2019). Regional Refugee Protection: A Comparison of Europe and the Middle East. [http://www.openaccess.hacettepe.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11655/7837/Thesis\\_Csorba-final.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](http://www.openaccess.hacettepe.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11655/7837/Thesis_Csorba-final.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)

*group or political opinion, unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of or return to such country.*

*Any person who unwillingly takes refuge in a country other than his country of origin or his habitual place of residence because of sustained aggression against, occupation and foreign domination of such country or because of the occurrence of natural disasters or grave events resulting in major disruption of public order in the whole country or any part thereof.”<sup>12</sup> (Article 1.)*

## **2.4. TERMS AND DEFINITIONS**

### **2.4.1. The Distinction Among Migrants, Refugees, And Asylum Seekers**

The three terms frequently used to express similar importance, yet every has an alternate significance bearing different global commitments and outcomes. In the present emergency of movement, the expressions "migrant," "refugee," and less "asylum seekers" are utilized every day to express one and a similar thing. Be that as it may, each term has alternate importance, bearing several worldwide commitments and results. On the off chance that it is befuddling, it might mean the distinction between life and passing. Things being what they are, what are the distinctions?

#### **- Migrants**

In its most straight edge, a settler is over a year old and moves from place to place to live in another country. According to IOM’s 2013 data, there are 232 million people who are global transients a year and 740 million move in their home.<sup>13</sup> “The global number of international migrants reached an estimated 272 million in 2019.”<sup>14</sup> There are many reasons why people are outsiders, in any case, those scanning for work or a prevalent life are routinely called financial vagrants. In any case, there are universal

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<sup>12</sup> League of Arab States, Arab Convention on Regulating Status of Refugees in the Arab Countries, 1994, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4dd5123f2.html> (Article.1)

<sup>13</sup> Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision- Migrants by Age and Sex. (2013). (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013/Age)

<sup>14</sup> United Nations. International Migration (2019, September). Retrieved from [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/InternationalMigration2019\\_Report.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/InternationalMigration2019_Report.pdf) p.1

understudies, migrants, and family reasons, the people who move because of war and asserting they escape from oppression. An individual case can be a mix of every single one of these things.

It is believable to leave the war in Syria and continue with an unrivaled life for the family. Migrants from outside the EU are at risk of movement drafts and may expect visas to go in specific countries, including the United Kingdom. They cannot get to social cabin or points of interest in a pompous, yet they can have the last course to settlement and citizenship. They may be captured or removed if they do not adjust to relocation laws. According to the latest figures, including 25.000 asylum seekers, over the last year, only 636 transients have touched base in the UK.<sup>15</sup> Migrants have continuously grasped to join the people who come to work for a brief time allotment and after that arrival home. The migrant populace used to depict inhabitants of outside nationality in a country, but then, separated ones used, despite the way that they are locals.

#### - **Refugees**

A refugee is someone who escapes from contention or misuse and seen as requiring comprehensive protection, and it is, to a high degree, unsafe for them to return to their homes. They are guaranteed under universal law by the 1951 congress of migration, which represents what a pariah is and sets out the fundamental rights permitted to them.

The basic rule of the Convention; the refugees will not go out if their opportunity and their lives were compromised when someone seen as a refugee, social hotel, and social help should be given and help to discover a vocation and fuse the system. The UN outcast office (UNHCR) checks that there are around 70.8 million constrained displaced people far and wide, including those ousted inside their one of a kind country.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> UNHCR, (2019) Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2018. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/5d08d7ee7.pdf> p.22

<sup>16</sup> United Nations. (2019, June 19). Global forced displacement tops 70 million. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2019/6/5d08b6614/global-forced-displacement-tops-70-million.html>

### - **Asylum Seekers**

An Asylum Seeker is the one whose request the safeguard has not yet read. Reliably around one million people are searching for asylum. National refugee frameworks exist to make sense of who has met all requirements for overall protection. In any case, amid the mass advancements of the displaced person, it is not always possible or vital to coordinate individual gatherings with each haven searcher who has crossed a fringe, by and large, given savagery or strife. These social occasions are much of the time called as at first sight displaced people. In UNHCR, they surmise that everyone has the benefit of being abused for shelter, and he/she does what is best for us to secure the people who require it. States are under a global commitment under the pledge to mulling over refugee claims and not to instantly return asylum seekers to the states where they have escaped. The exile Convention communicates that sensible and convincing refuge approaches and access to principal shields should give to ensure that their lives are respected and secure while their cases read.<sup>17</sup>

To conclude the difference between these three terms are; Migrants do not have legal rights, Refugees have the status to be in another country and Asylum Seekers are in a country just for protection.

## **2.5. REASONS OF MIGRATION**

The human migration corresponds to the action to pass of a country or of a region, in another one with the aim of becoming established there. It concerns as well the refugees, the displaced persons as the economic migrants.

The migration can be individual or collective and can have several reasons. Such as; Economic conditions, famines, droughts, armed conflicts, forced travels or movements, political reasons (persecution, loss of liberty), environment (pollution, global warming), company names (example: family link(merger)), job searching, search for a better quality of life, personal, professional reasons, etc.

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<sup>17</sup> UN High Commissioner for Refugees. (2011). UNHCR resettlement handbook. Geneva.



The migration can be internal in a country, between two regions, two provinces or two territories or between two zones of the same territory. Examples include the rural migration towards cities, the daily migration of the place of residence towards the workplace. People migrate for numerous different reasons. These can be economic, social, political or environmental.

- **Economic Migration**

It is about a movement to find a job or pursue a professional objective. According to OECD Migration (2014); Migration adds to good advancement and monetary development. Global relocation has both immediate and roundabout impacts on monetary development. There is little uncertainty that where movement extends the workforce, total GDP can be required to develop. In any case, the circumstance is less clear with regards to per capita GDP development.<sup>18</sup> In certain countries, it is difficult to find a job, thus, to earn money to be able to have a house, to eat or to go to school inhabitants leave their country for another one, where they think of finding a job more easily. For example, Burmese people working in Thailand, are economic migrants. Because, they have just migrated to have a job in different sectors.<sup>19</sup>

- **Social Migration**

It is about a movement with the aim of a better quality of life or of getting closer to its family, to his/her friends.

According to the European Commission and OECD, in most Member States, family reunification has been one of the principal types of movement since the mid-seventies however the Member States have progressively restricted vagrants' entitlement to family reunification, with current laws crosswise over Europe perhaps being the strictest to date. Despite the fact that the European Commission exhibited in 1999 a proposition for a Family Reunification Directive as its first activity under the new migration title in the

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<sup>18</sup> OECD. Is Migration Good for the Economy? (2014). Retrieved from [https://www.oecd.org/migration/OECD Migration Policy Debates Numero 2.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/migration/OECD%20Migration%20Policy%20Debates%20Numero%202.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> Striking Women, Economic Migrants. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.striking-women.org/module/types-migration/economic-migrants>

EC Treaty, the Member States since quite a while ago stayed unfit to achieve understanding in the Council, until a corrected, and fundamentally more prohibitive proposition concurred in February 2003. This proposition has now concurred.<sup>20</sup>

According to Norface Immigration, respondents who demonstrated they have come to encounter life and culture in an alternate nation, have for the most part come since they need to 'see the world'. They don't plan to relocate for all time yet need to encounter what different nations resemble for some time. They just came to see. They consider it to be an undertaking or an affair. They don't worry about work, study, or family issues, however, discuss how they require an affair.<sup>21</sup>

Because of the dangers certain people are afraid of death in their country. These migrants leave their country to save their life. They then wish to surrender in another State so that it protects them. For that, they ask for asylum. If the country which welcomes them agrees to protect them, thus, to grant them the asylum, they become refugees. For example, Turkish people are going to Germany to have a good quality of life, to earn more money and to have a good social life.<sup>22</sup>

#### - **Political Migration**

It is about a movement to escape political, religious, or ethnic persecution or conflict. Based on the constrained movement writing, we comprehend that savagery expands the apparent danger to individuals' prosperity. Therefore, individuals move away with the end goal to expel themselves from this risk.<sup>23</sup> The way towards relocating or voyaging, which incorporates being outside the home and the network and in a less recognizable environment, opens individuals to the savagery they are looking to get away. Moreover,

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<sup>20</sup> Lex Access to European Union law. (2003). Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=celex:32003L0086>

<sup>21</sup> Migration in Europe – Social, Economic, Cultural and Policy Dynamics. (2014). Retrieved from <https://www.norface.net/program/migration-in-europe-social-economic-cultural-and-policy-dynamics/>

<sup>22</sup> Sirkeci, Ibrahim, Revisiting the Turkish Migration to Germany after Forty Years (2002). *Siirtolaisuus-Migration*, Vol.29, No.2, pp. 9-20, 2002. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1861913>

<sup>23</sup> Davenport, C. A., Moore, W. H., & Poe, S. C. (2003). *Sometimes You Just Have to Leave: Domestic Threats and Forced Migration, 1964-1989*. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. Doi: 10.1080/03050620304597 p.27-55

relocation is just an intelligent decision to ensure one's wellbeing on the off chance that they can move completely out of the contention zone. Another choice to diminish one's presentation to savagery is to intentionally decide not to move. For example, Afghani people migrate to the UK, because of Afghanistan's invasion and the Taliban's regime.<sup>24</sup>

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### - **Environmental Migration**

Among the origin of this migration, we find natural disasters, like floods or drought. According to Olivia Dun and François Gemenne, aside from clear situations where sudden-beginning ecological changes, for example, those subsequent from quakes or surges prompt constrained dislodging, the issue is that natural relocation regularly introduces itself where there is a moderate beginning natural difference or debasement process, influencing individuals who are specifically subject to the earth for their vocation and causing them employment stretch.<sup>26</sup> At the point when natural debasement is a contributing however no central point, it ends up sketchy whether such relocation can be called ecological movement.

According to IMO, the movement, condition, and environmental change nexus is a mind-boggling one.<sup>27</sup> By the method for foundation and with the end goal to contextualize the discussion, the accompanying segment gives a short outline of the issue regarding its "re-revelation", the effects of natural and environmental change on people's portability, its improvement suggestions and how the issue connects to more extensive relocation and statistic patterns. With global warming, there are more and more natural disasters (cyclones, floods), which urge people to run away from their country. For example, because of climate change, South Africans' farms are

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<sup>24</sup> Political Migrants. (2001, October 18). Retrieved from <https://www.striking-women.org/module/types-migration/political-migrants>

<sup>25</sup> Education, A refugee's story. (2001, October 18). Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/education/1607320.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/education/1607320.stm)

<sup>26</sup> Dun, O. & Gemenne, F. (2008, October 31). Defining 'environmental migration'. *Forced Migration Review*, p.10-11.

<sup>27</sup> Migration, Environment and Climate Change (MECC) Division. (2019, February 15). Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/migration-and-climate-change>

underwater, and they are not able to gain profits so many of them have planned to migrate in order to have good living conditions.<sup>28</sup>

## **2.6. THEORIES OF MIGRATION**

Theories of migrations are crucial because with the help of these theories the main reasons for the migration can be understood. Also, with these theories, countries can shape their action plans according to the previous experience of other countries. We will observe the push and pull factors and how it can shape the EU's plans and especially France's number of refugee acceptance.

### **2.6.1. Push-Pull Theory of Migration**

According to this theory it is possible for a place to have both push-pull factors thus, the pull factors in the destination reveal the push factors at home. Weaknesses of a country in economic, social, and communal areas are considered to be push factors while advantages of a country compared to another are considered to be pull factors.

According to Warner, "Multivariate processes -environmental, political, social, and economic- which are the root causes of environmentally induced migration and/or conflict. When people are faced with severe environmental degradation, they have one of three options: (1) stay and adapt to mitigate the effects; (2) stay, do nothing and accept a lower quality of life; or (3) leave the affected area. The process of movement and migration is usually subject to a complex set of push and pull forces, where push forces relate to the source area while pull factors relate to the destination."<sup>29</sup> This will also guide us to the part when the integration and assimilation processes are mentioned in the next parts of the thesis. It also leads us to the conclusion that because of the push

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<sup>28</sup> McGuinness, D. (2011, March 01). Georgia's call for South African farmers. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-12599987>

<sup>29</sup> Warner, K., Hamza, M., Oliver-Smith, A. et al. (2010). Climate change, environmental degradation and migration. *Nat Hazards* 55, p. 689–715 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-009-9419-7>

and pull factors France would not choose to accept many refugees since the acceptance of more may also cause an increase in the future.

This approach that will empower us to comprehend the potential reasons for migrants' turn and their goals. Generally, this approach takes a gander at the primary explanations for the high migration rates as opposed to controlling the development of individuals. By this respect, work issues and statistic changes appeared as a preventive instrument for migration.

Unemployment, poverty, race problems, want of a better life, uncertainty of the future, political pressures can be listed as push factors. The lack of opportunities in rural areas and opportunities presented in cities makes migration more attractive. The Push and Pull factors are especially important since France 's refugee policies are centered around the pull factor.<sup>30</sup>

Since the migration movement of people migrating from low income regions to high income regions is economy based, it is examined under the push-pull theory. Low income, low life standards, socio-economic externalities like political oppressions are push factors. High income, economic opportunities, demand of labor and political liberties are pull factors.

Push-Pull Theory has been the most explanatory theory when it comes to understanding international migration movements. Everett S. Lee described the subject for the first time in 1966 in his article: A Theory of Migration.<sup>31</sup> Many researchers have worked on the subject, but no one changed the formulation Lee used. Like all other researchers, Lee made an overview of immigration laws as in Ravenstein's theory. Lee criticizes Ravenstein's demographic understanding. Lee focused on the process of the migration movements rather than migrations however he emphasized the importance of migrants' conditions. According to Lee there are four fundamental factors: "Factors associated

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<sup>30</sup> Fourquet, J. (2015). European Reactions to the Migrant Crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.feps-europe.eu/Assets/Publications/PostFiles/348.pdf>

<sup>31</sup> Lee ES. 1966. "A Theory of Migration." *Demography*, 3: 47–57.

with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors.”<sup>32</sup>

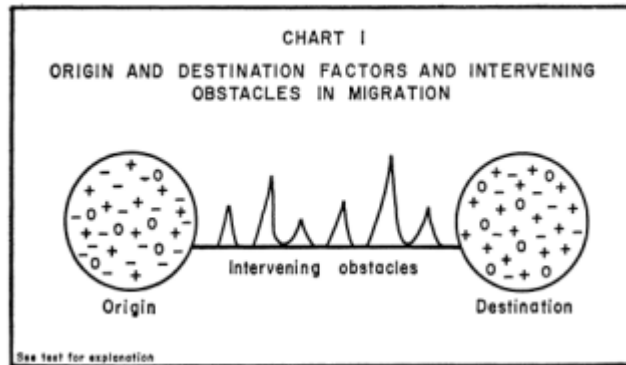


Figure 2.1: Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration- Lee, 1966 page 50 (retrieved from Lee ES. 1966. “A theory of migration.” Demography, 3: p.50)

These four factors form the basic mechanism of the theory. According to Lee, both push and pull factors must be present in a place that is livable. Lee uses + for pull factors, - for push factors and 0 for neutral factors.

Since neutral values do not reflect positive or negative values for anyone, they do not contribute to the migration. Lee used this concept for migration that are done by individual’s initiatives.<sup>33</sup>

In Lee’s theory, two factors are the determinants of migration. The first factor is the individual (micro) factor and the second one is the social (macro) factor.<sup>34</sup> People who are thinking of migrating consider the push and pull factors while calculating the pros and cons of staying or migrating. However, since it is not clear whether the immigrants will adopt or not, there is always some risks. At this point, since the reactions of each immigrant will be different, the migration factors should be analyzed individually. In

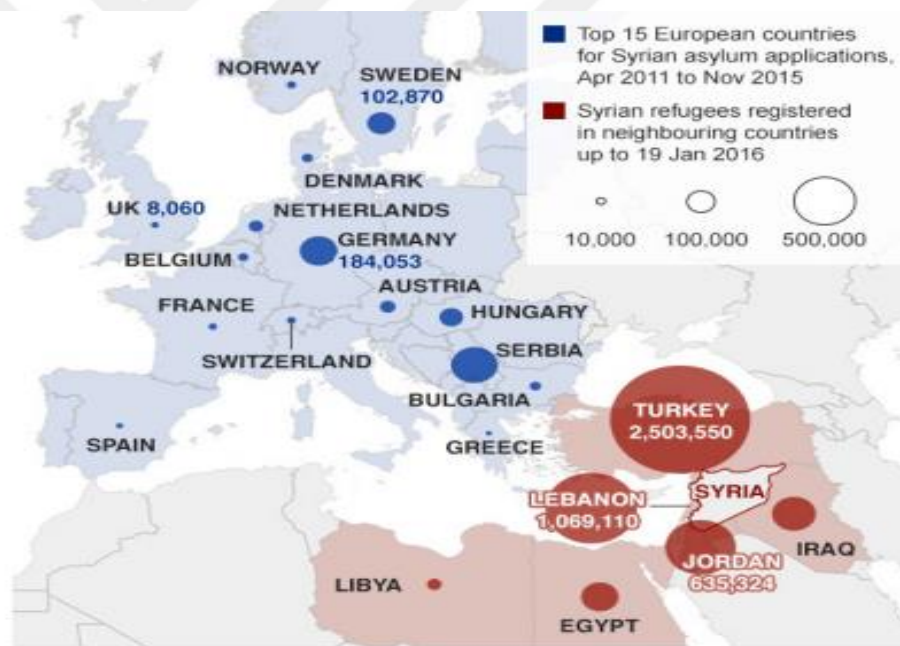
<sup>32</sup> De Haas, H. (2010). Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227–264. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00804.x> p.8-9

<sup>33</sup> Aydemir, S. (2017). A Sociological Approach to the Phenomenon of Migration in Monotheistic Religions: An Analysis in Terms of Migration Theories. Retrieved 2020, from [http://isamveri.org/pdfdrq/D00064/2017\\_3/2017\\_3\\_AYDEMIRS.pdf](http://isamveri.org/pdfdrq/D00064/2017_3/2017_3_AYDEMIRS.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> Lee ES. 1966. “A theory of migration.” *Demography*, 3: 47–57.

the case where positive and negative numbers are equal to each other, the decision of immigrating or staying would vary from individual to individual. Neutral conditions, as well as social and legal uncertainties, distance of migration locations, transportation and financial problems related to accommodation of the migration, is a micro factor while strict migration law, race and status and physical ability to migrate are macro factors.

The push and pull theory provides an overview of international migration and this theory can help people to understand which factors are at play for Syrian migration and the migrants' choices of destinations. According to P. Ahmad, "the push and pull factors are reliant factors that affect the populace that move out of the Middle East, especially in Syria in recent years. Similarly, migration for Syrians is established in the causes and results of financial incongruities, wars and consistent conflict in the district."<sup>35</sup>



**Figure 2.2: Syrians in neighboring countries and Europe (Source: BBC graphic/UNHCR data)**

<sup>35</sup> P. Ahmad., The Middle East Refugee Crisis. Syria and Iraq Case: Realities and Media Representations. Available from: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328473616\\_The\\_Middle\\_East\\_Refugee\\_Crisis\\_Syria\\_and\\_Iraq\\_Case\\_Realities\\_and\\_Media\\_Representations](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328473616_The_Middle_East_Refugee_Crisis_Syria_and_Iraq_Case_Realities_and_Media_Representations)

According to Basak Yavcan, “The pressing requirement an aggregate reaction just got clear to the worldwide network with the huge inundation of refugees who moved from these frontier countries to the EU member-states in the mid year of 2015, and with the spread of frequenting images demonstrating the dead bodies of children sweeping the shores of countries like Turkey. What this so called European Refugee Crisis involved was in fact a flooding of shelter searchers in the frontier countries bordering the EU. Exposed to a few push and pull factors, these displaced persons had been generally denied official gateways into Europe and hence compelled to migrate A portion of these variables with the exacerbating financial and wellbeing conditions in the host nations.”<sup>36</sup>

Although the general opinion is that “Syrian migration was caused due to the conflict, it is not possible to say all Syrians migrate because of this reason...”<sup>37</sup> At the start of the Syrian migration, it was seen that, many Syrians who did not live in conflict zones and had high economic conditions migrated to the Turkey because they did not feel like they belonged to Syria. In the following periods, it was observed that, young Syrians of military age were migrating in order to escape military service. The two most important push factors of the Syrian migration are security and political factors. Although migrants seek a safe place, the factors of finding a job and transportation are the biggest factors.

Push and pull factors of migration for France are economic and social factors.<sup>38</sup> People may want to migrate because of the increase in the population, the high population of young people inadequate education, health and social assistances which all can be considered as push factors. This type of migration consists of social structure and demographic factors. Countries with a fixed population and demographic age, high level of welfare, education and health also receive migrants because these are all considered

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<sup>36</sup> Yavcan, Basak. 'On Governing the Syrian Refugee Crisis Collectively: The View from Turkey.' Near Futures Online 1 “Europe at a Crossroads” (March 2016): <http://nearfuturesonline.org/on-governing-the-syrian-refugee-crisis-collectively-the-view-from-turkey/>

<sup>37</sup> Ince, C. (2019, June). Göç Kuramları ve Suriye Göçü Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. Retrieved 2020, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/716225>

<sup>38</sup> Hopkins, R. (2020, February). Quels Sont Les Facteurs De Poussée Et De Traction: 2020. Retrieved from <https://fr.ripleybelieves.com/what-are-push-and-pull-factors-59>



pull factors. Unemployment, low wages and poverty are push factors that create economy induced immigration. Countries with shortage of workers, high wages and high quality of life also receive migrants because these are pull factors.

Syrians want to escape the war in their country and live safer lives. In addition to these, they prefer migrating to European countries because they offer high quality of life, good education and better job opportunities. Since France offers high quality of life and good education (according to OECD Better Life Index),<sup>39</sup> it is preferred by Syrian migrants.

According to Stouffer's previous works we can observe that he used push and pull theory often to analyse city's push and pull potential. Citys are the central push factor but also the people who are thinking to migrate, they also think about the distance of the migration point.<sup>40</sup> When we are analyzing countries' pull effects and migration effects together, analyzing Stouffer's Intervening theories can be beneficial.

According to Banerjee, it is determined that family or friendship ties are of vital importance in choosing the place of migration. (Banerjee, 1981).<sup>41</sup> According to Grieco, kinship ties are important for migrants as well as employers. (Grieco, 1987).<sup>42</sup>

Young adults are more suitable for migration.<sup>43</sup> Young adults are inclined to migration because they are open to new opportunities and also, they want to improve their life standards. Families with young children prefer to migrate to European countries because

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<sup>39</sup>OECD Better Life Index (2017, September). France. Retrieved from <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/france/>

<sup>40</sup> Stouffer, S.A. (1940) "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance", *American Sociological Review*, 5(6), 845-867

<sup>41</sup> Banerjee, U. K. (1981). Social Communication and Social Indicators. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 27(2), 263-300. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019556119810201>

<sup>42</sup> Grieco, M. (1987). *Keeping it in the Family*, New York.

<sup>43</sup> International Labour Organization. (2013, August 09). Why do young people migrate? Retrieved from [http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/comment-analysis/WCMS\\_219045/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/comment-analysis/WCMS_219045/lang-en/index.htm)

of the better education provided there. The children who will grow up there will adapt to its culture and her life standards will be higher.

According to experts of economic theories of labor migration Lira Gurieva and Alexandr V. Dzhioev, pull factors such as high levels of economic development, job opportunities, high security and high income make a country a desirable destination for migrants.<sup>44</sup> France has all of abovementioned pull factors.

Push factors such as economic hardships, high unemployment, low income, low security, political oppressions encourages Syrian migrants to migrate to France. Even though some Syrians wish to migrate to France they are unable to do so because of the distance, lack of transportation and lack of accommodation in France. Various NGOs and GOs help the migration process of Syrians to France.

According to Lee, some migrants refuse to adapt to the country they have migrated to, while some migrants are able to adapt easily.<sup>45</sup> In France, educational courses are provided to speed up the adaptation process. Migrants need to pass these courses with some degrees to be able to receive migration status.

The phenomenon of migration should not be only seen as placement but also as a change in socio-economic structures of countries. Migrants will consider the advantages and disadvantages of the displacement (analyzing push and pull factors). The effects of the migration will be different for the country which is sending the migrants and the country which is receiving them. First, the effects of the migration show themselves on the population. The population of the country which sends the migrants will decrease thus the labor supply will decrease resulting in low unemployment rates.

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<sup>44</sup> Gurieva Lira, Dzhioev Aleksandr V. "Economic Theories of Labor Migration", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.6, No.6, 2015, ss.101-109.

<sup>45</sup> Lee Everett, "A Theory Of Migration", *Demography*, Vol.3, No.1, 1966, ss.47-57.

While the young population of France struggles to find jobs, the migrants will have a better chance of finding jobs because they are willing to work for less wages. This situation causes the French to be resentful towards the migrants.

## **2.7. CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, definition and the types of migration were discussed. In the end, it can be observed that migrations have positive and negative effects on countries. Since, refugees are carrying their own cultures, mix-culture issues erupt in the country of arrival. The main reason for the migration is the question of security. Generally, and especially in war areas, people are afraid of their and families' well-being and some choose to migrate to a "safe country." The countries the refugees choose to migrate are developed countries where they can hope to secure themselves and also their finances.

Through history, there have been many declarations and conventions signed to protect migrants and migrants' rights. The most prominent ones, Geneva Convention, New York Protocol About Refugees' Legal Status, Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, and Arab Convention on Regulating Status of Refugees have been explained to give an understanding of the rights of the refugees to the reader. The important theory of migration has been discussed and explained and this theory show that the main reasons behind the migration are economic conditions, security, and social reasons. In the case of the Syrian Refugee Crisis, French policies can be examined under the Push and Pull factors.

In the next chapter, the historical background of the Syrian Crisis and the current situation will be explained at length, later the focus will be shifted to the effect of the crisis on migration.

## **CHAPTER 3: SYRIAN CRISIS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PUSH FACTORS**

### **3.1. HISTORY OF SYRIA AND SYRIAN CIVIL WAR**

#### **- Background Information and Syrian Civil War**

In this chapter, the historical background of the Syrian Crisis and the current situation will be explained at length later the focus will be shifted to the crisis's effect on migration. The Syrian Crisis will be discussed in two parts: the first one focusing on the situation before the crisis has erupted and the second one focusing on the situation after 2011. Later, the situation of Syrians and refugees will be discussed while emphasizing the data collection on the number of refugees. The history of Syria will be narrated in-depth in order to show for long the instability has consumed the region and draw a parallel between the cultural and religious differences that caused different groups to be formed in the past and the present. Understanding the living conditions of the Syrian citizens will carry importance to learn why these people opt to migrate and what they want to do in the country that they will be migrating to, especially in France, so that we can analyze how their actions affect the French and its government. At the end of this chapter we can understand why Syrians want to flee from their home country and the push factors of Syria.

#### **- History of Syria**

Starting from the Paleolithic era, the region of Syria has been the cradle of civilizations. Because of the geopolitical importance of the region, with many accesses to trade routes, being inside the Fertile Crescent and the cultural and religious values that have been shared, made Syria a rich region and perhaps one that needs to be attained. Thus, many empires throughout history have tried or successfully managed to invade the

region. Many civilizations reigned over Syria such as Sumerians, Assyrians, Egyptians, the Persian Empire, and the Roman Empire. With all civilizations came great cultural richness and diversity however, we will see that in the future the many factors that come to play will cause instability and mainly religious rivalry in the region.

Syria's current capital Damascus was the center of the caliphate of the Umayyad Dynasty and it was the economic, cultural, political, and social heart of ash-Sham.<sup>46</sup> With the Umayyad Dynasty the introduction of Islam to the region has begun. The introduction has added one more piece, perhaps the biggest one, to the mosaic that was the culture of Syria. Between 1516 and 1918 Syria was under the control of the Ottoman Empire, the longest-reigning empire in Syria. By being under the control of Muslim Empires, Syria and its citizens adopted the values of Islam and we can still see the importance of Islamic values in the region.

In accordance with the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the control of Syria has been given to France as a part of The League of Nations Mandate, after World War I. As the history of Syria suggests the region has come under many rules and came into contact with different cultures. Because of the role, it played in trade, the region has always been in contact with many merchants who did not only transport goods but also ideas, stories, cultures, and religions too. These contacts, along with the battles that took place in the region, has nurtured Syria's culture while making various people from different backgrounds share the same region.

#### - **Modern History**

The French Mandate of Syria carries importance when it comes to understanding the relationship between Syria and France. As we will go into detail of how Syrian refugees affected France, it is also significant to know how nearly a thousand years ago Syrian people were affected by the French so that we can draw a parallel in the relationship.

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<sup>46</sup> Melamed, A. (2016). Inside the middle east- making sense of the most dangerous and complicated. Skyhorse Publishing. P.176

After Syria has been put under French control with the San Remo Agreement (1920) the French have divided the region into three autonomous regions<sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> The rule of France has agonized the people of Syria and led to a nationalist revolt led by Sultan al-Atrash to be broken in 1925. For drafting a constitution, an election for a constitutional assembly was held however, the French disregarded the elections, which once again agonized the nationalists. With the talks for the Vienot Accords, the French agreed to give Syria its independence while having dominance in the region. However, the accords never came into effect as France refused to ratify it. As Nazi Germany invaded France, Vichy France became the controller of Syria.

In 1946, Syria was free from the foreign mandate and it once again established its independence. The following years saw many coups and the region was coupled with instability. During these times the fabric of democracy in Syria has been damaged greatly and the army held a great share of power.<sup>49</sup>

In 1963 Ba'athist (Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party) Army seized the power. Hafez al-Assad as his Defense Minister, Salah Jadid took over the government from Baath regime, later Jadid himself was overthrown by Hafez al-Assad while splitting the Ba'ath Party. (Known as the Corrective Moment.) Rebellions in Iran have also provoked Islamic groups in Syria to initiate rebellions around the country and attempted to assassinate Hafez al-Assad. The government has surpassed the uprising of the Muslim Brotherhood, a transnational Sunni Islamist organization, in an event that is known to be Hama Massacre.

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<sup>47</sup> George Antonius, Syria and the French Mandate, International Affairs, Volume 13, Issue 4, July-August 1934

<sup>48</sup> Fildis, Ayse. (2011). The Troubles in Syria: Spawned by French Divide and Rule. Middle East Policy. 18. 10.1111

<sup>49</sup> Abu-Safe, H. arah. (2015, May). Prospects of Democracy in a Post-Assad Syria. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.uark.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=plscuht>

### - **Syria Under Bashar Al-Assad Administration**

With the death of Hafez al-Assad, Bashar al-Assad has been elected as the president of Syria. After the election of Bashar al-Assad, a period of free political debate and intellectual debates has begun what is known to be the Damascus Spring.<sup>50</sup> However, in a year the Damascus Spring has come to an end with the government suppression of the movement. Despite its short-lived nature, the Damascus Spring still plays a vital role in the political debates in Syria. After 9/11 Attacks, George W. Bush used the term “axis of evil” in his State of the Union Address, later Syria was also added to the “axis of evil” as it was acquiring weapons of mass destruction and state sponsors of terrorism according to the US.<sup>51</sup> The USA-Syrian relationship has worsened as the US became critical of the Syrian Government’s close ties with groups that have been declared as terrorists as the US and the EU.

In 2007, the European Union relaunched dialogue with Syria. The relationship with the West hardened because of Syria’s stance on Lebanon however, Assad’s meeting with French President Nicolas Sarkozy in 2008 signaled that the relationship between Syria and the West could be mended.<sup>52</sup>

### - **Uprising in Syria**

When asked about his predictions of Arab Spring protests sweeping into Syria, Basher al-Assad was confident of his country and believed that the uprisings would not reach their country by stating “Syria is stable. Why? Because you have to be very closely linked to the beliefs of the people. This is the core issue. When there is a divergence between your policy and the people’s beliefs and interests, you will have this vacuum that creates a disturbance.”<sup>53</sup> In truth, a mixture of long-standing political and economic predicaments was driving the country toward instability. After his

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<sup>50</sup> The Damascus Spring. (2012, April 01). Retrieved from <https://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/48516?lang=en>

<sup>51</sup> Bolton, J. R. (2002). Beyond the axis of evil: additional threats from weapons of mass destruction. Washington, D.C.: Heritage Foundation.

<sup>52</sup> Sarkozy Meets Assad in Syria. (2008, September 3). Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/03/world/africa/03iht-sarkozy.4.15873619.html>

<sup>53</sup> WSJ. Interview with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. (2011, January 31). Retrieved from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703833204576114712441122894>

father's death, Bashar al-Assad came to power with lots of promises and kindled the hopes of the citizens. However, these promises were only met for a short period, Damascus Spring, and Bashar al-Assad continued to use policies of his father like strengthening the surveillance and censorship of the media and suppressing the opposition by force.<sup>54</sup>

Bashar al-Assad administration significantly liberalized the previously state-owned economy, but it mainly caused the gap between the wealthy and the poor to widen.<sup>55</sup>  
<sup>56</sup> Coupled with the worst drought in Syria's modern history, many people found themselves in great poverty. Moreover, many people complained that the only people that could benefit from the wealth that was brought into the country were people close to Assad as Joseph Daher suggests in his research with the prominent example of "Rami Makhlouf, Assad's cousin and the richest man in Syria, who represented the mafia-style process of privatization led by the regime."<sup>57</sup>

Protests occurred firstly in 2011 by the people that were in a bad economic condition mainly because of the drought. Security forces responded to these protests with great force and violence which in return fueled other protests around the country. The Syrian government denied any allegations of having ties with these security forces. In July Syrian National Council was formed by opposition groups to Assad, additionally, the Free Syrian Army was formed.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> HRW, A Wasted Decade: Human Rights in Syria during Bashar al-Asad's First Ten Years in Power. (2015, April 29). Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/07/16/wasted-decade/human-rights-syria-during-bashar-al-asads-first-ten-years-power>

<sup>55</sup> Press, A. (2015, March 27). Rebels in Syria's largest city of Aleppo mostly poor, pious and from rural backgrounds. Retrieved from <https://www.foxnews.com/world/rebels-in-syrias-largest-city-of-aleppo-mostly-poor-pious-and-from-rural-backgrounds>

<sup>56</sup>Joseph Daher. (2018, December). The political economic context of Syria's reconstruction: a prospective in light of a legacy of unequal development. Retrieved from [https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/60112/MED\\_2018\\_05.pdf?sequence=4](https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/60112/MED_2018_05.pdf?sequence=4)

<sup>57</sup>Joseph Daher. (2018, December). The political economic context of Syria's reconstruction: a prospective in light of a legacy of unequal development. Retrieved from [https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/60112/MED\\_2018\\_05.pdf?sequence=4](https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/60112/MED_2018_05.pdf?sequence=4)

<sup>58</sup> Habets, I. (2016). Obstacles to a Syrian Peace: The Interference of Interests, Retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1007/s12290-016-0397-3>



While the US, the EU, and the Arab League put sanctions on the government, Iran and Russian Federation have continued to support the Assad Regime which sets as a good indicator of the sides that will support the regime throughout the war. After failed attempts of the United Nations and the Arab League to bring stability and peace to the region, the United Nations came up with the Geneva Communique which set the basis for establishing a transitional governing body for Syria.<sup>59</sup> (See the footnote for suggested reading)<sup>60</sup>

In November 2012, another important factor came into play: the Syrian National Coalition that was established by opposition groups. Instead of the Assad Regime many countries like France, the UK, the USA started to recognize the Coalition. The entrance of the coalition caused many territorial disputes like northern parts of the country were mainly controlled by the Coalition. Perhaps the biggest obstacles for the expansion of controlled territories were the lack of leadership in the organization and equipment.<sup>61</sup>

While Iran and Hezbollah were sending weapons to the Assad Regime, the US started training for rebel groups and sent weaponry by the end of 2012. As the war progressed, the question of the usage of chemical weapons has been started to talk about more often. Opposition forces have blamed the Assad Regime for using chemical weapons in an attack in Damascus, in August 2013 which once again worsened the relationship between the Assad Regime and the West.<sup>62</sup> An agreement

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<sup>59</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. (2019, December 16). Civil war. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Syrian-Civil-War/Civil-war>

<sup>60</sup> Princeton, (2018) DataSpace: Syria's Path to Peace: An Analysis of the Vienna, Geneva and Astana Peace Processes, and Subsequent Policy Recommendations. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dsp0137720g46r>

<sup>61</sup> Sayigh, Y. (2013). (Rep.). Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Retrieved from [www.jstor.org/stable/resrep13046](http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep13046)

<sup>62</sup> BBC. (2018, April 8). Suriye'deki kimyasal saldırı iddialarına dünyadan tepkiler: Trump Esad'a 'hayvan' dedi. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-43688517>

took place between Syria, the US, and the Russian Federation in order to place the chemical weapons under international control.<sup>63</sup>

2015 saw the Russian Federation's role rising, especially with the airstrikes. By 2016, ISIL which started to rise in 2013 while other rebel forces started to weaken, was losing momentum as it was fighting with US-backed Kurdish forces, Iran and Russian backed pro-Assad forces, and Turkish backed coalition of rebel groups. Every time pro-Assad forces used chemical weapons, Western governments mainly the US, British, and French did not hesitate to retaliate with airstrikes. From 2016 pro-Assad forces began to gain more ground from the rebels. By 2018, Idlib was the last stronghold of the rebel forces.

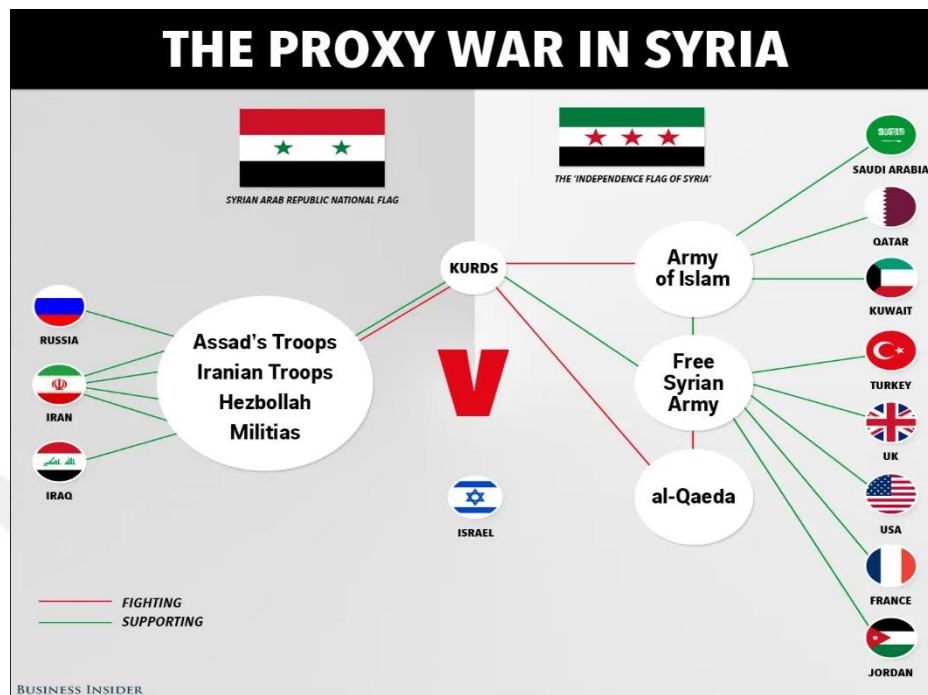
As Turkey warned about the invasion of Northern Syria by Turkish forces, Operation Peace Spring, the Trump administration announced that they would withdraw from the area and allow Turkey forces to take action. Only eleven days later the operation began, a second buffer zone was formed under the Sochi Agreement.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Gordon, M. R. (2013, September 14). U.S. and Russia Reach Deal to Destroy Syria's Chemical Arms. Retrieved from [https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/15/world/middleeast/syria-talks.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/15/world/middleeast/syria-talks.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)

<sup>64</sup> Hodge, A. by N. (2019, October 23). Putin and Erdogan just did a deal on Syria. The US is the biggest loser. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/10/22/middleeast/putin-erdogan-syria-deal-hodge-analysis-intl/index.html>

### 3.2. MAIN PARTIES INVOLVED



**Figure 3.1:** Kelley, M. B. (2013, October 16). The Madness of The Syria Proxy War In One Chart. Retrieved from <https://www.businessinsider.com/who-is-involved-in-the-war-in-syria-2013-10>

The four primary forces in the region are Syrian government forces, pro-Assad forces, Syrian armed opposition groups, Islamist Groups, and Syrian Kurdish Forces. Besides these parties, the US, the Russian Federation, and Turkey play an important role in the war.

**Syrian Government/Pro-Assad Forces:** The Assad Regime is acknowledged as the lawful representative of Syria by 185 UN member states, with the exception of the US, France, the UK, Bulgaria, Libya, Tunisia, Spain, and Egypt. Assad Regime had to face plenty of sanctions implemented by the Western countries especially on the issue of the use of chemical weapons. In 2015, the Russian Government decided to start direct

military intervention in addition to equipment and weaponry help.<sup>65</sup> Iran and Iraq have helped the facilitation of troops and sent military forces.

**Syrian Opposition Forces:** In 2013 The National Coalition formed its own government and claimed the legitimate representation of Syria belongs to them. They are recognized as the legitimate representatives of Syria by France, the US, the UK, Bulgaria, Tunisia, Spain, Libya, Egypt, and the European Union. They have been mainly supported by the US, the UK, France, and Saudi Arabia until approximately 2018 and they are still being supported by Turkey and Qatar to date (2020.)

**The Syrian Kurdish Troops:** Kurdish forces aim to recapture their territory and independence and are not acknowledged as opponents of the Assad regime. With the progression of the conflict, the Kurds found themselves in the front line in the conflict against ISIS in northern Syria.

**Al-Qaeda:** Al-Qaeda's Syrian branch was named as the Al-Nusra Front. It was a jihadist organization aiming to form the Islamic State in Syria. However, in 2017 they joined forces with other Islamist groups.<sup>66</sup>

### **3.3. HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE DISPLACED BECAUSE OF THE WAR?**

UNHCR announced that 11 million people have been displaced because of the Syrian Civil War in the first half of 2017<sup>67</sup> (UNHCR, 7 August 2017) and 250.000 refugees have been enrolled in neighboring countries.<sup>68</sup> In a communiqué, the UNHCR specifies: "While the number of people, women, and children have run away six war years in

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<sup>65</sup> The Russian military intervention in eastern Ukraine. (2018, April 19). Retrieved from <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2014-09-03/russian-military-intervention-eastern-ukraine>

<sup>66</sup> Syria Islamist factions, including former al Qaeda branch, join forces: statement. (2017, January 28). Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-rebels/syria-islamist-factions-including-former-al-qaeda-branch-join-forces-statement-idUSKBN15C0MV>

<sup>67</sup> Operational Portal. (2017, August 7). Update on Durable Solutions for Syrian Refugees. Retrieved from <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=13878>

<sup>68</sup> Operational Portal. (2019, July 4). "Syria Regional Refugee Response". Retrieved from <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>

Syria exceeded the bar of 5 million, the international community has to do more to help them ."<sup>69</sup> (Syria Emergency – UNHRC Country p.1)

Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan are the countries that host the greatest number of refugees. About 3 million of them have taken refuge in Turkey, according to the data of the UNHCR. More than a million resides in Lebanon, 657.000 in Jordan, more than 233.000 in Iraq, more than 120 000 in Egypt, and about 30.000 in the countries of North Africa.

Another destination for Syrian refugees in Western Europe, where they are 884.461 Syrians seeking shelter in. Two-thirds of those demands registered in Germany and Sweden. Besides, hundreds of thousands of the other Syrians fled to Gulf countries. Since some of these countries did not sign the Convention of 1951 relative to the status of refugees, UNHCR does not count them as refugees.

### **3.4. LIVING CONDITIONS OF SYRIANS**

The citizens of Syria have been affected by the war in great measures unrelated to their partisanship, socioeconomic status, and ethnic backgrounds. The safest place for citizens is considered to be ones under the Assad regime. Citizens in those regions can still benefit from public services such as education, health, and administration.<sup>70</sup> However, they are under nearby examination proceed to live in worry. The financial problems of daily lives became their primary interest because of the energy cuts loss of heating and fuel also coupled with the sharp rise in costs of all the primary foods. All of these arguments show us the push factors.

However, the citizens living in regions controlled by the opposition forces undergo great hardships. Some areas are blocked by the militia while some witnesses regular air

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<sup>69</sup> Syria Emergency- UNHCR Country. (2011). Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/en/syria-emergency> p.1

<sup>70</sup> Khaddour, K. (2015). The Assad regimes hold on the Syrian state. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. p. 3

attacks mainly from the Russian Federation. The daily lives are regulated provincially via city directorates in regulation, besides the militia, who check every district. The most deprived inhabitants benefit from the humanitarian aid for the food, whereas certain commercial activities are conducted via the black market.<sup>71</sup>

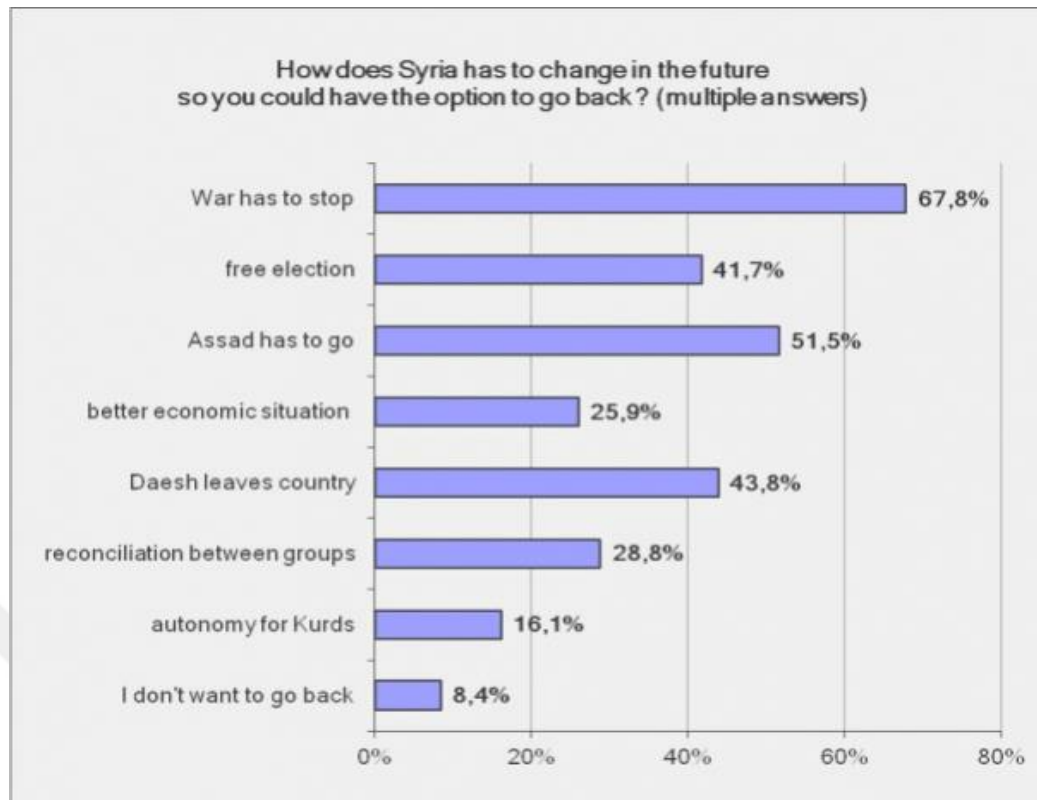
In refugee camps and near the border, refugees stay in tents and sometimes inside caravans or pre-fabric constructions. These refugees are taken care of by global or regional humanitarian organizations like UNHCR.<sup>72</sup> The children represent the most significant part of the population of these camps. Established by volunteers, schools continue to provide informal education for children in some cases. Some camps are real cities or shantytowns, such that of Zaatar (Jordan's north), which has approximately 150.000 residents.

Inquiries point that the big part of the immigrants in Europe, do not want to settle there, they prefer staying in their home country. (for the more significant part in Syria not control by the Assad Regime). The survey which was made in Germany prove this idea.

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<sup>71</sup> Slim, H., & Trombetta, L. (2014, May). Syria Crisis Common Context Analysis. Retrieved from [https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/system/files/syria\\_crisis\\_common\\_context\\_analysis\\_june\\_2014.pdf](https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/system/files/syria_crisis_common_context_analysis_june_2014.pdf)

<sup>72</sup> United Nations. (n.d.). Safeguarding Individuals. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/safeguarding-individuals.html>



**Figure 3.2:** Survey amongst Syrian refugees in Germany – Backgrounds. (2016, March 29). Retrieved from <https://adoptrevolution.org/en/survey-amongst-syrian-refugees-in-germany-backgrounds/>

This is the first survey done by Germany on Syrian refugees in 2016 (889 Syrian refugees living in Germany, has participated in his survey), to understand why they chose to migrate and what are their future plans. The main cause of the migration are the concerns of physical harm and economic situations. 67,8% of the Syrians want the war stops so, they can return to their homeland. Only 8,4% of Syrians don't want to go back to their homeland. Syrians especially want to see Assad's regime's collapse and Daesh. Syrians main goals is to have a secure life and obtain a better economic situation.

## - **Data on the Number of Refugees and Their Living Conditions**

Collecting data from the region is important in many aspects. Politicians rely on data to sketch their next moves and how to address the issue especially when it comes to the number of the refugees, non-governmental organizations need the data to assess the necessities and every citizen of the world who wishes to remain knowledgeable on the issue needs to data to understand what is happening in the region. It is crucial to know especially the number of refugees who migrated to the European Union countries and especially to France and which conditions prompted them to migrate in order to draw the conclusion on how the Syrian Civil War has affected France's security.

There are several ways we are able to obtain data from the region. Thanks to the global condition of the world and the age of technology humanity are more than able to receive news in a second. Many news correspondents belong to the channels and newspaper publications present in the region as well as some volunteer journalists. Also, some civilians do not have armaments, but who have notebooks, pens, cameras, or smartphones and they photograph, record, and collect.

The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights writes very limited about their procedure and claims to have a relatively extensive network of correspondents throughout the Syrian territory, while The Violations Documentation Center and the SNHR focus on areas managed by the rebels. They also crosscheck their information thanks in particular to the numerous citizen-journalists who canvass the territory.

It should be pointed out that it is hard to collect data regarding the number of people who are displaced and their living conditions from regions controlled by the Assad Regime and Daesh. Despite the circumstances, the United Nations works to minimize the margin of error. The original record will undoubtedly unfold after the war. These records should also involve deaths by lack of nourishment and care. The data that can be collected from the local councils that run the cities will be of great help.

Syrian Network for Human Rights further does a regular calculation. In their 2016's August report, 1,521 non-combatants were killed as these were the victims that the organization was able to document. 1,082 people were killed by Syrian (or Russian)



forces. The rest by the opposition forces, 148 by the Islamic State, 179 by the rebel groups.<sup>73</sup> There are also victims killed by Kurdish groups and other units. Whatever the count and the organization that collects, the Syrian regime is always primarily responsible for the majority of the deaths.<sup>74</sup>

Together with the government's allies, the Syrian administration has extended military autonomy and is the only party to the means to use an air force. The constant attack of local areas following the bombing in 2012's summer, causes huge plenty of noncombatant sufferers, though deprives the group of asylum, financial resources, and administration causing several indirect deaths that cannot be assessed at this time. In this regard, a United Nations statement of 6 September 2016 notes on the bombing of Syrian and Russian aviation in Aleppo: Some die below the attacks, some will suffer because of the shortage of pharmaceutical facilities, as a consequence of bombing via military powers which have destroyed more than twenty sanatoria and polyclinics in Aleppo province only since the start of the year" first.<sup>75</sup>

For the better analysis of the situation it is important to have reliable and up to date data on the number of people that have been replaced and also the estimated numbers of refugees so that better planning in a political manner can be done by hosting and transition countries to control the migration. It is also important to learn the number of people who have been killed or wounded in the war in order to understand the effect of the war as a big picture. Data collection carries great importance when it comes to determining how many refugees France is hosting and how many more refugees they may face in the future. (It will be explained in the next chapters.)

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<sup>73</sup> Rights, S. N. F. H. (2017, March 28). 1521 Civilians Killed in August 2016. Retrieved from <http://sn4hr.org/blog/2016/09/01/26333/>

<sup>74</sup> Delarze, V. (2015, May 17). La Guerre Civile Syrienne. Retrieved from <https://www.humanium.org/fr/syrie/la-guerre-civile-syrienne/>

<sup>75</sup> Russia/Syria: War Crimes in Month of Bombing Aleppo. (2016, December 5). Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/12/01/russia/syria-war-crimes-month-bombing-aleppo>

### 3.5. THE CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION

In order to understand why people, decide to migrate from the region we should focus on the living conditions they have witnessed and what caused them to flee the region. It is also important to understand what these refugees are seeking and especially why they choose France as the country to migrate. With these combined, we can understand what are they expecting from France, which actions they may take there, and in which way they can affect France.

By the end of 2013, the UNHCR had previously recorded 2.5 million evacuees. These evacuees were leaving for causes that had very little to do with the Islamic State.<sup>76</sup> A United Nations report summarizes why people choose to immigrate simply: "The intentional targeting of noncombatants and the inability of whole parties in the fight, and to defend noncombatants, are recognized as the main reasons for displacement. Besides, communities are increasingly forced to flee due to the collapse of services (including the lack of a health care system and the loss of livelihoods)".<sup>77</sup> (United Nations, Update IV. p.6)

The thousands of Syrians who took the roads for migration during the bombing of Aleppo were fleeing for the similar goals: the continuous attack of Syrian and Russian aeronautics, the burning of shelters, hospitals, and different infrastructures, the whole loss of supplies and the rapid increase in food prices.<sup>78</sup>

Daesh primarily seizes openings in north-eastern Syria alike Raqqa or Deir Ez-Zor. Citizens who live in those areas are fleeing from Daesh. If the Islamic State were

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<sup>76</sup> Bettati, M. (2013). Le Haut Commissariat des Nations unies pour les réfugiés (UNHCR). *Pouvoirs*, 144(1), 91-111. doi:10.3917/pouv.144.0091.

<sup>77</sup> United Nations. (November 2015.). International Protection Considerations with regard to people fleeing the Syrian Arab Republic, Update IV. Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/publisher,UNHCR,COUNTRYPOS,SYR,5641ef894,0.html> p.6

<sup>78</sup> Peace Research Institute Oslo, J. C. (2016). Root Causes and Drivers of Migration: Implications for Humanitarian Efforts and Development Cooperation. Retrieved from <https://www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=9229>

expelled from Syrian territory, that alone would not allow a massive return of refugees. A stop to combat or a no-fly zone would allow at least some of them to return.

Clinics are also regularly targeted, including by Russian forces (12 hospitals struck in 2015's October). It's expected that 26% of hospitals are not further operating, and 33% of them only partially operate.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, 11 million personages necessitate pharmaceutical attention. Just half of the Syrian kids are now protected. Hence the reappearance of infectious viruses: cholera, leishmaniasis, polio, typhoid, measles. Without care and medication, people with chronic diseases – diabetes, hypertension, cancer – also lost their lives. Adding these to consideration, according to international estimates, more than 13 million Syrians today need humanitarian assistance.<sup>80</sup>

Also, more than 4.8 million Syrians have abandoned the nation to seek shelter in bordering nations, and especially in Europe. Especially in France, in 2019, there were 154.620 asylum seekers according to the Ministry of Interior of France.<sup>81</sup>

These population displacements have inevitable demographic consequences. A first view shows that the analytical mass – the Arab Sunni group – is the one that was forced to leave the country the most, which causes a slight rebalancing in favor of demographic minorities. Some articles even mentioned the principle of voluntarism of the Syrian administration, a Shiatization, revealing itself into the logic of damage and rebuilding of correctly preferred locations, and by measures to promote the establishment of immigrant communities of the Shia of the Muslim religion.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Hill, E., & Triebert, C. (2019, October 13). 12 Hours. 4 Syrian Hospitals Bombed. One Culprit: Russia. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/13/world/middleeast/russia-bombing-syrian-hospitals.html>

<sup>80</sup> Le Point, magazine. (2016, January 27). Syrie: une ONG dénonce les. Retrieved from [https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/syrie-une-ong-denonce-les-insupportables-bombardements-des-hopitaux-27-01-2016-2013384\\_24.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/syrie-une-ong-denonce-les-insupportables-bombardements-des-hopitaux-27-01-2016-2013384_24.php)

<sup>81</sup> Statistics. (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/france/statistics>

<sup>82</sup> Forced Displacement and Population Transfer. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.naameshaam.org/report-silent-sectarian-cleansing/6-forced-displacement/index.html>

It is estimated that in total there are 5.563.914 identified Syrian refugees according to UNHRC as of March 2020.<sup>83</sup> The numbers show us the gravity of the Syrian Civil War and it is especially crucial to know the numbers of the refugees so that we can analyze the impact they have on the country they are migrating to, in our case France. In July 2016 11.694 Syrian refugees applied for asylum in France.<sup>84</sup> In other chapters the effects (as socio-economic ways) of these refugees on France will be examined in depth.

### **3.6. CONCLUSION**

In this chapter the analysis was done by separating Syria's history into two-parts; The First one was examining the historical background of Syria before 2011, and the second one was focusing on the Syria Civil War between 2011 until 2019. The historical background information carries importance to understand how different groups in Syria clash and over which issues. It is also important to understand which countries tend to support which parties in the international area. However, the most important factor of understanding the war is to understand the living conditions of the Syrians and what prompts them to migrate. In other words, it is important to understand the push factors that are explained in the previous chapter. So, we can understand why Syrians leave their home country. At the end we can observe that many Syrians flee their country in order to protect themselves and their families both physically and financially. This reasoning will help us analyze what migrants in France want from the government of France. Moreover, the number of refugees in total is given to show the gradual migration effect of the migration not only on France but on the world.

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<sup>83</sup> Forced Displacement and Population Transfer. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.naameshaam.org/report-silent-sectarian-cleansing/6-forced-displacement/index.html>

<sup>84</sup> UNHCR, Syria Regional Refugee Response. (21 February 2016) Retrieved from <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>

## **CHAPTER 4: FRANCE, FRENCH LAW OF MIGRATION, SYRIANS AND FRENCH CITIZENS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PULL FACTORS**

In this chapter, France's relation with Syria and its crisis, France's view on this migration and France's migration policies, Syrian migrants living conditions in France, the thoughts of Syrian migrants, and the thoughts of French people on this migration, will be explained. This migration's economic and social effects will be analyzed, and we can observe why France is a country who "pull" migrants.

### **4.1. FRANCE AND THE SYRIAN REFUGEES**

According to the European Union 315.000 applicants from a million that applied for asylum are from Syria and only 5.000 of them applied for asylum in France for 2015. Compared to countries like Germany (100.000) and Hungary (65.000), it seems that France is not a top destination for Syrian refugees.<sup>85</sup> It is reported that in a case when Mayor of Rennes created 130 housing facilities for the refugees only seven new refugees arrived, and the same trend showed itself when eleven municipalities created housing options but only a family arrived.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Monin, J. (2016, February 12). Migrants Syriens: "La France, non merci". Retrieved from [https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/migrants-syriens-la-france-non-merci\\_1705931.html](https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/migrants-syriens-la-france-non-merci_1705931.html)

<sup>86</sup> Monin, J. (2016, February 12). La France boudée par les réfugiés Syriens du 12 février 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.franceinter.fr/emissions/l-enquete/l-enquete-12-fevrier-2016>

Vincent Bourgeois, the spokesman of Eurostat, stated that "there were 5000 Syrians' applications for asylum in France in 2015. It is hardly 1,3% of the global request in Europe. They were 100.000 to ask for asylum in Germany, 65.000 in Hungary, and 40.000 in Sweden. Even Bulgaria, Denmark, Belgium, and Spain welcomed more refugees than France."<sup>87</sup> Even when refugees arrive in France, it is often not their own decision, but they are sent here by OFPRA or the UNHCR.

In 2015, Hollande declared that France would accept 24.000 refugees from 120.000 refugees that are to be divided among the EU countries. According to him the refugee crisis is an important issue for the future of the EU and might even cause the Schengen Area to dissolve.<sup>88</sup>

In 2017 100.412 applied to OFPRA for asylum and 43.000 of them have been accepted. If we compare these numbers with France's neighbors', France is accepting a relatively low amount of asylum seekers. France promised to give resident permits to 35.852 asylum seekers. 2015 was the year France faced more refugees from Syria. In 2017, 3.249 Syrian asylum seekers have entered the country and they have been mainly placed in metropolitan cities.<sup>89</sup> So, we can understand that there is not enough pull factors for migrants to migrate to France. Within time, the number of Syrian refugees coming to France decreased, especially after the Paris attack.

## **4.2. LEGAL STATUS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES IN FRANCE**

### **- French Asylum Policies for Syrian Refugees and French Asylum Law**

In 1793's Draft Constitution which was not implemented, it was stated that people who lost their country and liberty can seek asylum in France. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century many

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<sup>87</sup> Le Point, magazine. (2014, February 24). Réfugiés Syriens: la France fait un geste. Retrieved from [https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/refugies-syriens-la-france-fait-un-geste-24-02-2014-1795304\\_24.php](https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/refugies-syriens-la-france-fait-un-geste-24-02-2014-1795304_24.php)

<sup>88</sup> Rfi. (2015, September 7). France to accept 24,000 refugees, launch Syria surveillance flights, Hollande. Retrieved from <http://www.rfi.fr/en/europe/20150907-france-accept-24000-refugees-launch-syria-surveillance-flights-hollande>

<sup>89</sup> Rapports d'activité OFPRA. (2017). Retrieved from [https://ofpra.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rapport\\_dactivite-\\_ofpra\\_2017.pdf](https://ofpra.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rapport_dactivite-_ofpra_2017.pdf)

people that were exiled found refuge in France and this pattern also continued in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The French Asylum Policy was created with the use of the European Law and the International Law. According to the French Law a person whose life is at risk can request asylum from France and under the 1993 Decision they can stay within the borders of France if they are not a threat to the society.

CESEDA, is the primary resource for the French Law regarding asylum. French government created two types of asylum protection: refugee status and subsidiary protection.<sup>90</sup>

#### - **Refugee Status**

According to the French Law, the refugee status of a person is considered by his race, religion, political beliefs, gender, and sexual orientation. The Government of France can opt to reject a person's application for the refugee status if it finds the person to be a national threat, a terrorist with previous records, or a criminal with previous records.

#### - **Subsidiary Protection**

A person can be under subsidiary protection but may not be regarded as a refugee under the French Law. These people are mainly the ones that had to witness torture or violence during armed conflicts. Those who committed crimes against humanity disturbed the peace and violated the UN principles are mainly denied from subsidiary protection.

#### - **Benefits of Asylum**

In order to create a smooth transition for integration, common law is used. Refugees can benefit from language courses, accommodation, minimum income support, and vocational training. In 2017 President Macron announced that he will give more importance to integration in his agenda and "an inter-ministerial delegate for refugee

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<sup>90</sup> Nicolas. (2016, March 1). Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/france.php>

integration was created in early 2018, which will strive to improve harmonization between different sectors.”<sup>91</sup>

#### - **Residency**

The first benefit of residency is the ability to stay in France. Refugees are given 10 years permit at first and these permits can be renewable. Refugees under subsidiary protection are given the one-year permit. OFFI and RIC (Republican Integration Contract) are intuitions that are responsible for residency permits and the integration process. Refugees can obtain working permits through their “Long-Stay Visa” and refugees under 26 can get support from the employment organization “Mission Local” while handicapped can get support from “Cap Emploi.”

#### - **Obtaining French Citizenship**

Many refugees wish to be citizens of France. In order to obtain citizenship a person must reside in France for the minimum five years. Refugees may apply for naturalization immediately. The chances of obtaining citizenship for a person who has minimum A2 French skills and is integrated with the French culture are very high.

#### - **Travel Documents**

If there is no threat of national security refugees can apply to the French Government to obtain their travel documents. Refugees can obtain two yearlong permits while refugees under subsidiary protection can obtain a yearlong permit. With these documents, refugees can travel abroad freely except from the country they emigrated from. Refugees can only visit their country in emergency situations such as the death of a relative.

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<sup>91</sup> Fine, S. (2019, August). The integration of refugees in France. Retrieved from [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/638397/IPOL\\_STU\(2019\)638397\(ANN01\)\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/638397/IPOL_STU(2019)638397(ANN01)_EN.pdf)



## - **Integration**

With the Accommodation and Integration Contract, refugees attend a civic training program that focuses on the values of France, knowledge about the culture and language. This civic training program's goal is to teach politics, administrative structure, and social values of France for a year. Thanks to this training refugees can also evaluate their skills and come up with a strategy to find jobs however, the French government or any other outlets are yet to provide any data on the number of Syrian refugees in the workforce.

### **4.3. SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR ASYLUM SEEKERS**

#### **-Temporary Housing Assistance**

Asylum seekers stay at shelters provided by non-profit organizations or at the CADA until their requests of asylum are accepted by the French Government. With the rising numbers of applicants, the French government planned to open 11.000 CADA housing centers.<sup>92</sup>

#### **-Temporary Financial Assistance**

Asylum seekers whose income is below a certain amount can benefit from ADA (Asylum Seeker Benefit.) "The basic benefit is €6.80 (approximately US\$7.37) per day for a single person, to be paid at the end of each month. This is increased to €10.20 (US\$11.05) per day for a two-person family, €13.60 (US\$14.73) per day for a three-person family, and so forth. If the asylum seeker and his/her family have not been given housing in a CADA or similar facility, an extra €4.20 (US\$4.55) per day is added to help them pay for lodging."<sup>93</sup> However, these ADA payments can be cut off if an asylum seeker gives false information, leaves their place without permission ,or commits a crime.<sup>94</sup> ADA is the only financial allowance that asylum seekers receive."<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Nicolas. (2016, March 1). Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/france.php>

<sup>93</sup> Nicolas. (2016, March 1). Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/france.php>

<sup>94</sup> Service Public Fr, En quoi consiste l'allocation pour demandeur d'asile (Ada)? (2020, February 20). Retrieved from <https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F33314>

However, once again the number of Syrian refugees benefiting from this allowance is yet to be announced.

#### **4.4. THE ADMISSION OF REFUGEES**

##### **-Visas for the Purpose of Asylum**

A person can only apply for asylum if he is inside the borders of France, an asylum request cannot be done from another country. Refugees can request a visa before coming to France and thanks to this visa they cannot be regarded as illegal refugees.

During 2013, “791 visas were granted to Syrian refugees for the purpose of asylum in France. Data indicates that between 2011 March and 2014 February, 5.000 Syrians (3.000 with refugee status) entered France.”<sup>96</sup> With these numbers alone, it can be seen that many refugees enter France without said visas.

##### **-Procedure for Requesting Asylum at a French Border Crossing**

When a Syrian citizen comes to France’s borders with documents, they can request asylum from the French government at the border. During the decision for the asylum request refugees are to be waited at the “waiting zone” OFPRA is responsible for the background investigation of the refugee however the final saying belongs to the Ministry of the Interior. In denial cases, the refugee is sent back to their homeland or the country he migrated from to France. In accepted cases, the asylum seeker is given a temporary visa so that he can apply for a proper asylum.<sup>97</sup>

#### **4.5. CONDITIONS OF THE SYRIAN REFUGEES IN FRANCE**

After the Civil War in Syria erupted, UNHCR and EU have called the EU member states to open refugees. Contrary to other countries France did not respond to this call

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<sup>95</sup> Oberti, C. (2019, December 5). Changes to France's ADA card: 'I can't even buy a baguette for €1'. Retrieved from <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/21321/changes-to-france-s-ada-card-i-can-t-even-buy-a-baguette-for-1>

<sup>96</sup> Nicolas. (2016, March 1). Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/france.php>

<sup>97</sup> Nicolas. (2016, March 1). Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/france.php>

and started to strengthen its border securities. News outlets saw this as an act against the three mottos of France “Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.”<sup>98</sup>

Once a person attains the refugee status, they are not allowed to stay at CADA facilities and that is why many refugees can be seen living in the streets. Also, this is the reason why many refugees prefer to go to Germany or Sweden instead of France.<sup>99</sup> This is one of the pull factors of Germany and Sweden. In 2016, French representatives at an international conference on migration stated that France should help countries that are affected by the crisis; the most like Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan, and refugees that are in France so that they can be integrated into the French society.<sup>100</sup>

Generally, Syrians do not prefer migrating to France because of the lengthy process of asylum-seeking and working permits. This is one of the push factors of France. Also, Syrians wish to migrate to the countries where they have family members, or they are familiar with the culture and the language. The reputation of Calais has also made Syrian refugees stay away from France. Because of these reasons, Syrian refugees choose to migrate to Germany than France. Even though OFPRA started some work to ease the process of asylum, still it is a lengthy process.<sup>101</sup>

In the first years of the Civil War, France received the maximum amount of applications for asylum within Europe, however, the shortage of accommodation and the lengthy bureaucratic process made France not an interesting place to migrate to. “In 2014, France only approved 22 percent of asylum claims (the EU’s average approval rate was

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<sup>98</sup> ONG françaises lancent un appel pour interpellier le Président français sur la nécessité d'accueillir des réfugiés syriens. (2013, September 12). Retrieved from <https://ccfd-teresolidaire.org/actualites/6-ong-francaises-4352>

<sup>99</sup> Barthélémy, A. I. (2015, July 9). Accueil des réfugiés syriens: Revivre après l'exil. Retrieved from [https://ccfd-teresolidaire.org/nos-publications/fdm/2015/287-mai-juin-2015/accueil-des-refugies-5093?gclid=CjwKCAjw4pT1BRBUEiwAm5QuR8CA9DDIS30nhzwPwn6VzEgN8ZHHDi0PEokEH-fQQIEIirHepkw8lxoCtcsQAvD\\_BwE](https://ccfd-teresolidaire.org/nos-publications/fdm/2015/287-mai-juin-2015/accueil-des-refugies-5093?gclid=CjwKCAjw4pT1BRBUEiwAm5QuR8CA9DDIS30nhzwPwn6VzEgN8ZHHDi0PEokEH-fQQIEIirHepkw8lxoCtcsQAvD_BwE)

<sup>100</sup> CCFD, (2016, March 10) Crise syrienne, la communauté internationale face à ses responsabilités?

<sup>101</sup> Monin, J. (2016, February 12). Migrants syriens: "La France, non merci". Retrieved from [https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/migrants-syriens-la-france-non-merci\\_1705931.html](https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/migrants-syriens-la-france-non-merci_1705931.html)

45 percent).” “The marginalization of minorities in France is worse than elsewhere.”<sup>102</sup> Refugees are mainly located in their ghettos where violence and back economic conditions prevail. Police forces are reluctant to intervene, and they seem to be left neglected.<sup>103</sup>

#### **4.6. ATTITUDES OF FRENCH CITIZENS AND EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS**

In 2019, one in two French citizens believe that people coming to reside in their country are not refugees but economic migrants.<sup>104</sup> Less than half of the French people are sympathetic to war refugees. Half of the citizens believe that Syrian refugees would not be able to adapt to French culture while 42% of them believe that borders should be closed to refugees.<sup>105</sup>

After the Paris Attack, France did not make any changes in the number of refugees they will be accepting however, after a passport of Syrian citizen has been found in the area, the public of France has become warier of the refugees.<sup>106</sup> There is also a belief that the presence of Syrian refugees is a threat to French culture.<sup>107</sup> This is one of the push factor for Syrians to be in France.

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<sup>102</sup> Why refugees avoid France. (2015, October 20). Retrieved from <http://newirin.irinnews.org/non-merci-why-refugees-avoid-france>

<sup>103</sup> Semotiuk, A. J. (2018, January 18). France Struggles With Its Immigrants In The Midst Of National Security Concerns. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/andyjsemotiuk/2018/01/17/france-struggles-with-its-immigrants-in-the-midst-of-national-security-concerns/#648a82295efc>

<sup>104</sup> AFP, 20 Minutes. (2019, June 21). Un Français sur deux doute que les réfugiés soient de "vrais réfugiés". Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/2545647-20190621-migration-moitie-francais-doute-refugies-vrais-refugies>

<sup>105</sup> AFP, 20 Minutes. (2019, June 21). Un Français sur deux doute que les réfugiés soient de "vrais réfugiés". Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/2545647-20190621-migration-moitie-francais-doute-refugies-vrais-refugies>

<sup>106</sup> Wang, A. X. (2015, November 19). France has doubled down on its promise to Syrian refugees after the Paris attacks. Retrieved from <https://qz.com/554555/france-has-doubled-down-on-its-promise-to-syrian-refugees-after-the-paris-attacks/>

<sup>107</sup> Marie, L. (2015, November 15). Syrians living in France react to the Paris attacks: "It breaks my heart". Retrieved from <https://qz.com/550485/syrians-living-in-france-react-to-the-paris-attacks-it-breaks-my-heart/>

Media outlets stated that the unemployment rate will rise because of the arrival of Syrian refugees.<sup>108</sup> Comparing to other countries, the number of refugees France has received and promised to receive (30.000) is low. 79% of French citizens interviewed agrees the belief “if we accept large numbers of migrants into our country and Europe, it will create a pull factor and cause many people living in Africa, Syria, Iraq or Afghanistan to move to Europe” and the push-pull factors of migration states that every refugee entering to the country will give more incentive to the ones left behind to also migrate to that country.<sup>109</sup> France does not allocate a big amount of resources to host refugees. 6 out of 10 French people interviewed believe that they are hosting enough refugees and do not wish their country to host more.<sup>110</sup> This is also proving the push factor.

In rural areas of North and Mediterranean coasts, the public attitude towards migrants is negative. There is a debate that non-European migrants are a threat to France and the French society which Freedman also mentions in his book.<sup>111</sup> After the attack in Paris in November 2015, Marine Le Pen endorsed her belief in ties between immigration and militant Islamism.

The Paris Attack has also an impact on the French Presidential Election. Le Pen supported the anti-immigration idea, not receiving more immigrants and also, closing French borders.<sup>112</sup> Macron said he is the candidate to lead France at this anxious time and he declared that he is ready to protect France against the terrorists who wish to destabilize France.<sup>113</sup> From this election, Macron emerged as a president who will

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<sup>108</sup> Attal, S. (2015, September 10). France should not be afraid of welcoming Syrian refugees. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/en/20150907-france-should-not-be-afraid-welcoming-syrian-refugees>

<sup>109</sup> Fourquet, J. (2015). European Reactions to the Migrant Crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.feps-europe.eu/Assets/Publications/PostFiles/348.pdf>

<sup>110</sup> Fourquet, J. (2015). European Reactions to the Migrant Crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.feps-europe.eu/Assets/Publications/PostFiles/348.pdf>

<sup>111</sup> Freedman, J. (2017). Immigration And Insecurity In France. Place of publication not identified: Routledge.

<sup>112</sup> Chandran, N. (2017, April 21). Paris attack could strengthen Le Pen heading into Sunday vote. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/04/21/paris-attack-could-help-marine-le-pen.html>

support the refugees but as time passed many started to criticize Macron for not doing enough while some criticized him for doing a lot.

7 out of 10 French citizens believe that the number of refugees their country has hosted is sufficient.<sup>114</sup> With a small nuance according to the age: almost 30 % of 18-24 years consider that the welcome of 24.000 refugees is insufficient against only 15% most than 55 years.<sup>115</sup> For Henri Labayle, a professor at the University of Pau specialist of the immigration, “far from convincing, the media doggedness seems to increase the distrust of the French people.”<sup>116</sup> And this nervousness is understandable by "the ignorance in which are maintained the French people."<sup>117</sup> Media as politics create a mixture of asylum seekers and migrants. It is necessary to differentiate the classic immigration which we are entitled to want to regulate and the threatened refugees that we have the obligation to protect.<sup>118</sup> Half of the people polled oppose that their municipality welcomes refugees if several mayors showed their voluntarism, the French opinion shows itself more sensitive to cold: half of the people polled refuse that the refugees live in their city. "Contrary to what pleads Christian Estrosi, these unfortunates do not run away to

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<sup>113</sup> Vidon, M., & Bhatti, J. (2017, April 21). Anti-immigration presidential candidate could see boost after Paris attack. Retrieved from <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/04/21/paris-terror-attack-anti-immigration-presidential-candidate-le-pen/100739076/>

<sup>114</sup> Gabriel, O. (2015, September 14). Sondage: Les Français toujours aussi frileux sur l'accueil des migrants. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1685623-20150914-sondage-francais-toujours-aussi-frileux-accueil-migrants>

<sup>115</sup> Gabriel, O. (2015, September 14). Sondage: Les Français toujours aussi frileux sur l'accueil des migrants. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1685623-20150914-sondage-francais-toujours-aussi-frileux-accueil-migrants>

<sup>116</sup> Gabriel, O. (2015, September 14). Sondage: Les Français toujours aussi frileux sur l'accueil des migrants. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1685623-20150914-sondage-francais-toujours-aussi-frileux-accueil-migrants>

<sup>117</sup> Gabriel, O. (2015, September 14). Sondage: Les Français toujours aussi frileux sur l'accueil des migrants. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1685623-20150914-sondage-francais-toujours-aussi-frileux-accueil-migrants>

<sup>118</sup> Gabriel, O. (2015, September 14). Sondage: Les Français toujours aussi frileux sur l'accueil des migrants. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1685623-20150914-sondage-francais-toujours-aussi-frileux-accueil-migrants>

obtain a social security card. The statistics of 2014 show that France is the only European country where applications for asylum fell by 5%.”<sup>119</sup>

“Can the French economy absorb refugees' flow? 40% of the French people claim to be ready to help the migrants Give some money to associations or of his time to bring food or covers to the refugees, the French people say themselves for in 40%. And 22% of the people polled support these initiatives, even if they do not have the means to act.”<sup>120</sup>

Only 15% of the French people grant their confidence to the European leaders. Reserves that join a long story of a disenchantment between public opinion and Europe. Nevertheless, the only solution to face this refugees' influx will be European, insists Henri Labayle.<sup>121</sup>

When asked the question “Are you in favor of or opposed to the idea that the tens of thousands of migrants arriving on the Italian and Greek shores should be distributed among the different countries of Europe and that [France, Germany, the UK, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Denmark] should welcome a proportion of them?”<sup>122</sup>, 46% of French citizens responded in favor.

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<sup>119</sup> Bfmtv, & A.l.m. (2015, May 18). Christian Estrosi sur les migrants: “Nous attirons parce que nous sommes trop généreux”. Retrieved from <https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/christian-estrosi-ump-sur-bfmtv-et-rmc-887721.html>

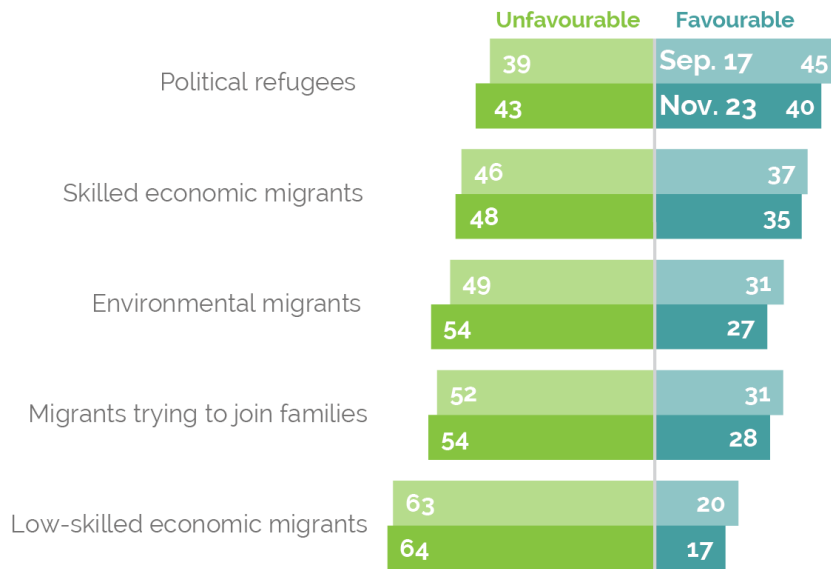
<sup>120</sup> Gal, T. L. (2015, September 10). Statut de “réfugié de guerre”: L'idée de Nicolas Sarkozy n'a rien de nouveau. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1683731-20150910-statut-refugie-guerre-idee-nicolas-sarkozy-rien-nouveau>

<sup>121</sup> Béraud, A.-L. (2015, February 16). Schengen: "Les États critiquent beaucoup mais ne travaillent pas forcément ensemble". Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1542299-20150216-schengen-etats-critiquent-beaucoup-travaillent-forcement-ensemble>

<sup>122</sup> Fourquet, J. (2015). European Reactions to the Migrant Crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.feps-europe.eu/Assets/Publications/PostFiles/348.pdf>

### French attitudes to migration, before and after Paris

How favourable are you to France allowing in more of the following categories of migrants – of all religions, coming from Africa, eg Eritrea, and the middle east, eg Syria and Iraq? Representative sample of 1006 French adults (%)



YouGov | yougov.com

November 2015

Figure 4.1: Dahlgreen, W. (2015, November 29). French attitudes to migration relatively unmoved by Paris attacks. Retrieved from <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2015/11/29/no-hardening-attitudes-refugees-france-post-paris>

One of the biggest obstacles for France and its migration policies is the absence of public support. A study made by The Telegraph shows that French people think that they accepted more refugees than they did in reality. Study shows that French citizens think they accepted 20.000 Syrian refugees in 2016 while in reality, they confirmed 4.000 Syrian refugees.<sup>123</sup> This pattern of faith strengthens the thinking that the French people have done enough for the crisis and the refugees. Since they believe that France has been helping refugees to the best of its ability, they are less inclined to help more refugees.

Because of the infamous Calais Camp and the police raiding that took place there, France has been a center topic of discussion.<sup>124</sup> Combined with the presence of anti-

<sup>123</sup> Cockcrof, S., & Provax, N. (2017, May). The European Union's Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis: National Factors that Affect Compliance in France and Spain. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/5d0a/d9211ad9376bcf1def1977aa949ed9d77a89.pdf>



migrant and anti- Muslim groups, France does not seem to be a reliable place for refugees.<sup>125</sup> 57% of people surveyed were worried that making low-cost housing available to refugees would prevent them from having these houses. More than 70% of respondents highlighted the need that public social services receive specific financial support to address the increase in the demand for services.<sup>126</sup>

According to media outlets there is a belief that accepting refugees is a duty of a humanitarian country however, this duty does not include migrants. Migrating to France for better economical conditions is not considered to be a legitimate reason for migration for many citizens.<sup>127</sup>

France's unemployment rate is 8.1 percent as of February 2020, with the young population affected by it the most. Paris terror attacks have fueled the debate over refugees and added the issue of national security to economics. Many started to believe that more refugees meant more terrorist attacks and anti-Muslim sentiments seen a rise.<sup>128</sup> In the presidential election of the 2017 scene, Front National brought the issue of security and immigration in hopes to appeal to an anti-immigrant vote base however the election ended with Macron being elected.

The public tends to see immigrants as “a burden to the social insurance and welfare system of the receiving country and they are often perceived as abusers of the country’s

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<sup>124</sup> Why is there a crisis in Calais? (2015, October 3). Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-29074736>

<sup>125</sup> Cockcrof, S., & Provax, N. (2017, May). The European Union's Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis: National Factors that Affect Compliance in France and Spain. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/5d0a/d9211ad9376bcf1def1977aa949ed9d77a89.pdf>

<sup>126</sup> Baltruks, D., & Montero, A. L. (n.d.). The impact of the refugee crisis on local public social services in Europe. Retrieved from [https://www.esn-eu.org/sites/default/files/publications/Refugee\\_Briefing\\_paper\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.esn-eu.org/sites/default/files/publications/Refugee_Briefing_paper_FINAL.pdf)

<sup>127</sup> Hamann, J. (2016, May 25). Germany and France locked in a refugee crisis: alone together. Retrieved from <https://www.boell.de/en/2016/05/25/germany-and-france-locked-refugee-crisis-alone-together>

<sup>128</sup> Hamann, J. (2016, May 25). Germany and France locked in a refugee crisis: alone together. Retrieved from <https://www.boell.de/en/2016/05/25/germany-and-france-locked-refugee-crisis-alone-together>

welfare system.”<sup>129</sup> Since, many refugees coming into their country are in poor economic conditions, they worry that, the refugees will be also a burden to the housing and education systems. “In France, the majority of the population finds that immigration has put pressure on the accessibility of public services, and immigrants have made it more difficult for the locals to find employment.”<sup>130</sup>

#### **4.7. THE NEWSPAPER 20 MINUTES’ RESPONSES TO THE PARIS ATTACK**

In this part, news articles after the Paris Attack (13.11.2015) will be examined. This attack has affected both the election and the public’s attitude towards the refugee and after the attack; France lowered the number of refugees they will be accepting. During my researches it was observed that; the newspaper 20 Minutes has the highest number of articles regarding the attack among the French newspapers and is considered to be a “neutral news outlet”.<sup>131</sup> Overall, the articles tend to focus on the speeches of governmental representatives rather than the public’s responses.

20 Minutes claims to be the independent newspaper of the democratic society. Freedom of press and publishing are the fundamental values of 20 Minutes. It is an institution that claims to respect the ethical rules and give non-partisan news.<sup>132</sup>

#### **Islamophobia:**

The next morning after the attack, (14 November 2015 05:30) many red-colored crosses were drawn to walls of the mosque that is located in Créteil.<sup>133</sup> The slogan “wake up

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<sup>129</sup> Kert Valdaru, E.-M. A., & Mälksoo, L. (2017). The Impact of the Refugee Crisis on Europe and Estonia. Retrieved from <https://inimareng.ee/en/migration-and-demographic-changes-in-estonia-and-europe/the-impact-of-the-refugee-crisis-on-europe-and-estonia/>

<sup>130</sup> Kert Valdaru, E.-M. A., & Mälksoo, L. (2017). The Impact of the Refugee Crisis on Europe and Estonia. Retrieved from <https://inimareng.ee/en/migration-and-demographic-changes-in-estonia-and-europe/the-impact-of-the-refugee-crisis-on-europe-and-estonia/>

<sup>131</sup> Minutes, 20. (2006, February 20). La charte de "20 Minutes". Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/medias/8110-20060220-charte-20minutes>

<sup>132</sup> Minutes, 20. (2006, February 20). La charte de "20 Minutes". Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/medias/8110-20060220-charte-20minutes>

France” was written on the door of a Muslim butcher and a mosque in Oloron-Sainte-Marie.<sup>134</sup> After these events responses from anti-Islamaphobia were made. Secretary-General of Conseil Français du Culte Musulman (CFCM) Abdallah Zekr, emphasized the importance of not letting separatist ideas prevail and being together.<sup>135</sup> A prayer reading for peace in France was held at the Grand Mosque in Lyon.<sup>136</sup> Imam of Bordeaux Tareq Oubrou warned the Muslims to be cautious towards the next attacks that might target the mosques. Since long beard is associated with Islam, many people who have long beard have been subjected to interrogation at metro stations.<sup>137</sup>

### **Normalization:**

Two days after the Paris Attack, citizens started to turn back to their routines, and streets were once again filled with people.<sup>138</sup> After the attack the public has become more devoted to their country and the sales for flags have doubled.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Le 14 novembre 2015 à 18h00. (2015, November 14). La mosquée de Créteil taguée de croix rouge sang. Retrieved from <http://www.leparisien.fr/val-de-marne-94/creteil-94000/la-mosquee-de-creteil-taguee-de-croix-rouge-sang-14-11-2015-5277069.php>

<sup>134</sup> Vialanet, D. (2017, July 31). Béarn: boucherie halal et salle de prière taguées à Oloron-Saint-Marie. Retrieved from <https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/nouvelle-aquitaine/pyrenees-atlantiques/bearn/bearn-boucherie-halal-salle-priere-taguees-oloron-saint-marie-852877.html>

<sup>135</sup> AFP, and B. D. (2015, November 15). Après les attentats, la crainte de l'amalgame, voire des représailles. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1731211-20151115-apres-attentats-crainte-amalgame-voire-represailles>

<sup>136</sup> Frisullo, E. (2015, November 15). Attentats à Paris: Une prière pour la paix et la France prévue à la Grande mosquée de Lyon. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/lyon/1730779-20151115-attentats-paris-priere-paix-france-prevue-grande-mosquee-lyon>

<sup>137</sup> Beunaiche, N. (2015, November 25). Attentats à Paris: La barbe, un fardeau devenu lourd à porter. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1737971-20151125-attentats-paris-barbe-fardeau-devenu-lourd-porter>

<sup>138</sup> Point, V. (2015, November 15). Attentats à Paris: "On va tenter de continuer à vivre, ne pas changer nos habitudes". Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1731171-20151115-attentats-paris-va-tenter-continuer-vivre-changer-habitudes>

<sup>139</sup> AFP, 20 Minutes. (2015, November 25). Attentats de Paris: Les ventes de drapeaux français ont plus que doublé. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1737727-20151125-attentats-paris-ventes-drapeaux-francais-plus-double>

## **Government:**

In order to improve the security Sarkozy proposed the closure of mosques and cults that defends radicalism. He also suggested the imprisonment of people who entered the country for the purpose of jihad.<sup>140</sup> French interior minister Bernard Cazeneuve also stated that everyone must act as united.<sup>141</sup> This can be an example of pull factor of France.

After the attack government has issued a state of emergency for three months. The government has considered requesting the EU to revise the Schengen border policies.<sup>142</sup> President Valls stated immigrants from the Far East should be stopped and Europe should leave the hosting of refugees to the neighboring countries.<sup>143</sup> François Hollande stated that more equipment would be provided to the police forces to protect the public.<sup>144</sup> However, while precautions for security funding were planned to be 600 million Euros, the real number was 815 million.<sup>145</sup> Nicolas Sarkozy wanted to meet with the president of the Syrian National Council Abdebasset Sieda in order to take speedy actions and put an end to massacres.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Sarkozy: les personnes fichées comme radicalisées doivent être «mises en résidence surveillée» avec «bracelet électronique» 2015, November 15). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/france/1731217-20151115-sarkozy-personnes-fichees-comme-radicalisees-doivent-etre-mises-residence-surveillee-bracelet-electronique>

<sup>141</sup> Attentats: Cazeneuve et son homologue belge déterminés «à agir ensemble». (2015, November 15). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1731209-20151115-attentats-cazeneuve-homologue-belge-determines-a-agir-ensemble>

<sup>142</sup> Attentats de Paris: contrôles systématiques aux frontières de l'UE. (2015, November 20). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1734921-20151120-commission-europeenne-proposera-revision-regles-schengen-d-fin-annee>

<sup>143</sup> Attentats: Manuel Valls demande à l'UE d'arrêter l'accueil des réfugiés. (2015, November 25). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/france/1737465-20151125-valls-ue-doit-dire-peut-plus-accueillir-autant-migrants>

<sup>144</sup> Attentats: qui est à l'origine des mesures prises par Hollande? (2015, November 25). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/france/1737481-20151125-attentats-a-origine-mesures-prises-hollande>

<sup>145</sup> AFP, 20 Minutes. (2015, November 30). Attentats à Paris: Les mesures de sécurité coûteront 815 millions d'euros, plus que prévu. Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1740715-20151130-attentats-paris-mesures-securite-couteront-815-millions-euros-plus-prevu>

<sup>146</sup> Valls: «Le régime syrien ne peut en aucun cas être un partenaire» contre le groupe Etat islamique. (2015, November 25). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/france/1738025-20151125-valls-le-regime-syrien-peut-aucun-cas-etre-partenaire-contre-groupe-etat-islamique>

### **Syrian Refugees:**

After a Syrian passport was found on the attacker, French people have started to become wary of the Syrian refugees. This attack has fueled the already existing anti-Islam sentiments within the country. When asked about the attack, the Syrian refugees have responded by stating that they feel safer in France than they feel in Syria.<sup>147</sup> According to Marine Le Pen acceptance of the refugees to France must be stopped. However, according to Major Bernard Moraine, the main goal of DAESH is to divide the country and create chaos. The Syrian refugees in France are upset because of the Paris Attack and they are also worried about themselves.<sup>148</sup>

### **Sending Troops to Syria:**

Since the USA stated they will not be sending any help, France also chose to not send any troops. Jean-Claude Allard (Director of International Relations and Strategic Institut), has stated that the only way to defeat DAESH is using air forces.<sup>149</sup> France Parliament has decided to send airforces to Syria.<sup>150</sup>

Conclusion of this newspaper analysis is; For the attack that took place on 13 November, approximately 30- 40 newspaper articles published between 14 November and 30 December were read. 20 of them were used as references. According to reports reflected in the media, it was understood that this attack had social and economic effects on French society. All stores and cafes that were not reopened due to the security hazard could only be opened after one month, and people working in that area suffered from

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<sup>147</sup> Attentats de Paris: en Europe, des réfugiés syriens craignent d'être les boucs émissaires. (2015, November 15). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1731205-20151115-attentats-paris-europe-refugies-syriens-craignent-etre-boucs-emissaires>

<sup>148</sup> Attentats à Paris: Quelles conséquences sur la crise migratoire? (2015, November 20). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1734219-20151120-attentats-paris-consequences-crise-migratoire>

<sup>149</sup> Beaudonnet, L. (2015, November 15). Attentats à Paris: La France peut-elle envoyer des troupes au sol en Syrie? Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1730927-20151115-attentats-paris-france-peut-envoyer-troupes-sol-syrie>

<sup>150</sup> Syrie: le Parlement vote pour prolonger les frappes aériennes françaises en Syrie. (2015, November 25). Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/france/1737629-20151125-syrie-parlement-vote-prolonger-frappes-aeriennes-francaises-syrie>

unemployment. Since one of those who carried out the attack had a Syrian passport on it, anti-Islam attitudes towards Syrian immigrants were increased. There were reactions against mosques, Muslims, and bearded people. Brotherhood and unity messages were given. The government has done the necessary work to increase security measures. They also discussed the restriction of borders with the EU. The number of accepted immigrants was reduced, and the government sent airforces to Syria to end the war thus, Syrians could return to their countries. All of these unity messages can be understood as pull factors of migration in France.

#### **4.8. CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, actions taken by the French government to accommodate the Syrian refugees have been discussed. While some discuss that France has only done a bare minimum to help with the crisis, more than half of the French public believes that they have done their share of the work.

The process of applying for asylum and the ways the Syrian refugees can benefit from it under the protection of the French government has been discussed. The benefits of asylum have especially been included in order to give the reader an understanding of why Syrian refugees might be tempted to choose France as their destination and how the lengthy process might have the opposite effect. At the end of this analysis, it is seen that there are many pull factors of France, but since the legal procedures are long, migrants see this as a push factors and they prefer to migrate to another European country.

The living conditions of the Syrian refugees have been discussed in order to clarify how they are being treated in France and which actions were taken by the French government have which kinds of effects.

Lastly, the public attitude of the French citizens towards the Syrian refugees has been analyzed. It can be seen that there is a public distrust towards economic migrants and the citizens believe that the arrival of these refugees will hurt their economic conditions especially when it comes to employment. Throughout this chapter news articles after the Paris Attack (13.11.2015) were examined. While the Paris attack has raised the question

of national security, it can be seen that it did not change the attitude of the public entirely. Still 45% of the citizens are in favor of opening their borders to political refugees.

In the next chapter, the European Union's actions and policies for refugees, the relationship between the EU and Syria, the political structure of the EU, and theoretical approaches for the EU's refugee policies will be discussed.



## **CHAPTER 5: EUROPEAN UNION'S MIGRATION POLICIES AND APPROACHES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PULL FACTORS**

In this part, Since Europe is a big Attraction Center (which contains huge pull factors) for migrants, we need also to focus European Union's actions and the formation of the European Union and its structure will be explained to provide a basic perception of the method of the Union. The EU's migration policies will be analyzed with an emphasis on its Neighborhood Policy. The European Union's Immigration Policy will be made so that the debate about the migration policy can be categorized and be understood better. Lastly, the relationship between the EU and Syria, and the effects of the Syrian refugees on the EU will be discussed.

### **5.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

After the two world wars that brought suffering and destruction, the need to sustain peace became apparent. Robert Schuman who is French Minister of Foreign Affairs, suggested then in a meeting in Germany, that a stock market to be created for two important materials for war economies: coal and steel.<sup>151</sup> With the leadership of Germany and France, in 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) has been settled. The ECSC made Germany gain an important stance in the international community and perhaps another war between Germany and France could be prevented. After the ECSC, many branches of the community have been established to expand the control of the community from justice, with the Court of Justice, to energy, with the European Atomic Energy Community. The main concern of the community was the

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<sup>151</sup> European Commission. (n.d.). Robert Schuman: the architect of the European integration project. Retrieved from [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/robert\\_schuman\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/robert_schuman_en.pdf)



issue of trade, with a focus on creating a free market within the community members. As time passed, the community has started to include more member states. By 1989, the community had 11 member states.

In the late 80s and the beginning of the 90s, significant and unexpected changes like the Berlin Wall's collapse and the Soviet Union's collapse, changed all dynamics in Europe. In 1992, The Treaty of Maastricht settled the EU. Austria, Sweden, and Finland joined the EU in 1995. The Treaty of Nice and the Treaty of Amsterdam reformed the Treaty of Maastricht. The treaties focused on adding more members from Eastern Europe to the Union. They replaced numerous domains and simplified the decision-making among the Union. The right of the joint evaluation of the European Parliament strengthened besides appreciably.

The Maastricht Treaty settled the Economic and Monetary Union. In 1999 the Euro was introduced as bank money; the European Central Bank began to lead an only monetary policy for the whole Eurozone. The euro was put in circulation in 2002 and quickly stood out as a single, stable and robust currency (at least up to the debt crisis in 2010), becoming the official currency of all members, except for the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Sweden. Among states having adhered in 2004, Slovenia was the first country to fill convergence criteria and they joined the Eurozone. Today the Eurozone has 19 members. Within the framework of a "budgetary intergovernmental pact" which was signed on 2 March 2012, 25 member states committed to strengthen their budgetary discipline and introduce a break in the debts (Great Britain and the Czech Republic did not sign this pact).

The Treaty of the EU also plans the possibility of a retreat of a member from the EU. The majority of the British people voted within the framework of a referendum, on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016, for the retreat of the United Kingdom. <sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> J. Wadsworth, S. Dhingra, G. Ottaviano and J. V. Reenen (2016). Brexit 2016: Policy analysis from the Centre for Economic Performance. London: Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics and Political Science. p.34-53

In 2018, Supporting the Future of Syria and the Region Conference took place to originate a plan for Syria and neighboring countries while development and sustainability plans were revised.<sup>153</sup>

## **5.2. EUROPEAN UNION AND MIGRATION**

The European Union started to focus more on migration policies starting in the 1990s. On the issue of movement one biggest space was the creation of Schengen Area which sustains the free movement between the member states while strengthening the border controls with other non-EU countries. With the Treaty of Amsterdam, the EU gained the ability to specify the criteria for accepting legal immigrants, put quotas for immigration, decide when to return the illegal immigrants, and make agreements with other migrant-hosting countries. Every member can change their border control if there is a concern about natural security. For example, France opted to change its border control policies after terrorist attacks in the country in 2015.<sup>154</sup> This is one of the push factors of migration to France.

The Convention of Dublin set the rules to manage the responsible member state to the investigation of a shelter demand. It allows preventing a refugee from putting down demands in various member states concurrently. The overall policy is that the member is in charge of the application for asylum, which had the most significant part in the entrance of the refugees to the Union. The Union suggested reforming the Convention of Dublin and distributing the asylum seekers, in case the amount of asylum seekers surpasses the capability of a nation, between all the member states, which was confronted with an excessive request.

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<sup>153</sup> The history of the European Union- 2018. (2020, April 29). Retrieved from [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history/2010-today/2018\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history/2010-today/2018_en)

<sup>154</sup> Hewitt, G. (2015, November 15). Paris Attacks: Impact on Border and Refugee Policy. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34826438>

### **5.3. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND SYRIA AND EUROPEAN UNION'S POLICIES**

In the repercussions of Arab uprisings, people fled their nations searching for a safe place. Governments and worldwide affiliations responded by outlining a game plan of overall affirmations to empower refugees. Their numbers extended definitely after and went to its most raised point in Syria Crisis (2011), as millions influentially removed, ousted, and resettled. A compact establishment of the Syrian Civil War is profitable to understand the Syrian refugee crisis process.

After vote-based framework challenges have gone to a specific point to El Assad's renunciation; the Syrian refugee individual crisis has begun. By June 2013, as shown by the UN, reports 90,000 people had been executed, and in August 2015, the number of deaths had moved to 250,000. In 2015, Europe started to feel the heaviness of the Syrian refugee crisis. Thousands of uprooted individuals arrive each day in Greece; 1 million evacuees accomplish Europe in the midst of 2015.<sup>155</sup> Since 2016, Syria troubled with the security issue, and various refugees keep running into Europe. Today, the fiasco in Syria continues to affect a considerable number of people's lives, and especially the northwest of the country has been encountering uncommon effects of physical, mental, and social issues.

The significant step towards developing immigration arrangement has been the “Global Approach to Migration” (GAM). It characterized the EU's foreign and immigration strategy.<sup>156</sup> This immigration strategy is, by all accounts, the most preventive one. Its favorable position is what makes policymakers stop or lessen the high rate of migration. Also, it helps neighborhood improvements inside the nations. The EU's responsibility is demonstrated in the Presidency Conclusions:

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<sup>155</sup> Reid, K. (2020, March 10). Syrian refugee crisis: Facts, FAQs, and how to help. Retrieved from <https://www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/syrian-refugee-crisis-facts>

<sup>156</sup> Lex Access to European Union law. (2007). Retrieved from [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:52007DC0247R\(01\)](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:52007DC0247R(01))

“The EC accentuation that the EU's promise to help the advancement endeavors of nations of starting point and travel is a piece of a long-term procedure to react to the changes and difficulties of movement, as delineated in The Hague Program. In such manner, the EC perceives the significance of handling the root-cause of migration, for instance through the production of employment openings and the destruction of destitution in nations and districts of the starting point, the opening of business sectors and advancement of financial development, excellent administration and the security of human rights.”<sup>157</sup> (Council of European Union, 15914/1/05, 2006, p. 9)

However, even though the EU is faced with prime difficulties such as poverty and the absence of financial opportunities, these were not viable for molding the Council's motivation. It preferably centered more around the control of terrorist attack somewhat over on intentions for migration. (Lavenex, 2006).<sup>158</sup> The migration debates then changed into legitimate migration streams for advancement purposes. The likewise exhibited in the fourth purpose of the GAMM as expanding the advancement effect of migration and mobility makes attribution to legal migration rights and migrant gatherings.

In order to control the migration, France has created institutions like Office National de l'Immigration. These institutitons regulate and control intensive migration from a single source and they establish policies that will facilitate the integration of new migrants.<sup>159</sup> According to Tapinos there are three reasons why the French does not want migrants: 1. Maltians Fear (unemployment and competition,) 2. The xenophobia, 3. Ignoring the economic effects of the migration.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Council of European Union, 15914/1/05, (2006), p. 9

<sup>158</sup> Lavenex, Sandra (2006, August 18) Shifting up and out: The Foreign Policy of European Immigration Control, published online, P. 329 – 350

<sup>159</sup> Tapinos G., L'Immigration Etranger en France: 1946-1973, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, p.20

<sup>160</sup> Tapinos G., L'Immigration Etranger en France: 1946-1973, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, p.40

While policies regarding migrants which are seen as “cheap” source of labor that France needs encourage migration; in times of crisis these policies are changed to limit migration. The perception of Europe as a place where migrants will be able to realize their dreams and having social networks that were established by the former migrants, make Europe a priority for migrants.

The migration policies of France which has a strong centralist tradition combined with Republican values, give some clues about what kind of country awaits the migrants. It is seen that France which puts strict policies into effect times of crisis, values security the most.

Since March 2011, more than 400.000 Syrians died, and more than 1 million were wounded. Almost 6.1 million Syrians have escaped their residences within Syria, and in excess of 5 million was constrained to take the refugees from neighbors. The European Union and its members have initiated more than € 10.6 billion since the beginning of the struggle, consolidating over € 753 million in generous guides alone until 2017.<sup>161</sup>

Europe also going up against measurement challenges as the masses are developing and declining from time to time. In this sense, picking young and capable refugees could deal with the expense of the required jobs at work. The Arab Spring has been a further component for the need for the EU's existed headings, for instance, GAMM. In 2011, fundamental advances made by the EU, and with the 'Blue Card Directive' exceedingly able third-country nations for joining to the structure of the authentic development.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Black, I. (2016, February 11). Report on Syria conflict finds 11.5% of population killed or injured. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/11/report-on-syria-conflict-finds-115-of-population-killed-or-injured>

<sup>162</sup> Lex Access to European Union Law- 52014DC0287- EN. (2014). Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52014DC0287&from=EN>

The EU and its members have arranged more than 10 billion Euros after 2011, and over 753 billion Euros until 2017.<sup>163</sup> When we take a look at the regions that benefit from financial help, we see Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt. The latest help package in 2018 has been made to Turkey with around 3 billion Euros, yet it remained just in cash related terms. Turkey has the geographical ability to keep refugees from entering Europe.

As a member state of the European Union, France often endorses the views of it and shares the same policies in regard to immigrant apart from national security issues thus it is important to understand the relationship between the European Union and Syria to see how France's political relationship is with Syria. It is also important to understand the immigration policies of France so that whether France is willing to take the Syrian refugees or not can be examined. Apart from the immigration policies, the stance of the European Union and France on the war itself, and their opinions on whether to intervene in the war if so, how will it give us the background dynamics between the countries?

In 1977, the relations of Syria with the EU started with the signing of an agreement of cooperation concerning the economic, technical, financial, and commercial issues. Syria is one of the twelve countries of the Mediterranean Sea to leave the declaration of Barcelona aiming "at making the Mediterranean Sea a common space of stability, peace, and prosperity, thanks to the security's strengthening and the political discussions, cultural association, financial, economic and social."<sup>164</sup>

From May 2011, the European Union adopted the decision 2011 / 273 / CFSP<sup>165</sup>: that plans the implementation of a double embargo. Besides an embargo on the oil, an embargo on arms came into effect forbidding any sale, supply, transfer or export of weapons in Syria as well as any technical or financial help for weapons. People

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<sup>163</sup> Lex Access to European Union Law. (2016). Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/GA/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52017DC0351&locale=mt>

<sup>164</sup> Bhutto, M. A. (2013). The Barcelona Declaration and the Role of Eu in the Development of Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries (Vol. 3/1). Adam Akademi. Doi: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/230537>

<sup>165</sup> Council Decision 2011/273/CFSP (2011, May 10). Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:121:0011:0014:EN:PDF>

responsible for violent repressions exercised toward the civilian group in Syria and the people or the entities which support or benefit from policies led by the regime are the objects of limitations as for their admission and their economic resources. Making such a decision was not easy.<sup>166</sup>

At the time Italy was receiving 30% of the European imports of Syrian oil. However, 95% of the exports of Syrian oil were bought by the European Union in 2011 (that is 75% of the Syrian recipes of export). On August 18th, 2011, Catherine Ashton (European Union foreign policy chief) calls Bashar Al Assad resolutely to resign: “The EU remarks that Bashar Al Assad missed any legitimacy in the perceptions of the Syrians and that he is necessary for him to leave the power.”<sup>167</sup> With 2011 / 522 / CFSP, the European Union decides to strengthen the prohibitive actions upon the Syrian regime: restrictions widened to every person or entity that finances the regime or gives them logistic support or finally “compromises the efforts to assure a peaceful transition towards the democracy in Syria.”<sup>168 169 170</sup> Also, “The transport, the purchase, or the import of petroleum products and crude oil from Syria are forbidden.”<sup>171</sup> The decisions 2011 / 628 / CFSP of September 23<sup>rd</sup><sup>172</sup> and 2011 / 684 / CFSP of October 13<sup>th</sup>, 2011<sup>173</sup> enlarged the list of the limitations operated towards Syria.

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<sup>166</sup> Lex Access to European Union law. (2011) Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/dec/2011/782/oj>

<sup>167</sup> Muir, J. (2011, August 18). Syria Unrest: World leaders call for Assad to step down. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14577333>

<sup>168</sup> Syria Options for a Political Transition. (2015, July) p. 41. Retrieved from [https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict\\_resolution/syria-conflict/Options-for-Political-Transition-in-Syria-Jul-2015-en.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/Options-for-Political-Transition-in-Syria-Jul-2015-en.pdf)

<sup>169</sup> Pierini, M. (2016, August 18). In Search of an EU Role in the Syrian War. Retrieved from <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2016/08/18/in-search-of-eu-role-in-syrian-war-pub-64352>

<sup>170</sup> Lorenzo Trombetta (2014) The EU and the Syrian Crisis as Viewed from the Middle East, *The International Spectator*, 49:3, 27-39, DOI: 10.1080/03932729.2014.937134

<sup>171</sup> Syria Sanctions: EU Follows US Ban on Oil Imports and Expands List of Designated Persons. (2011, September 01). Retrieved from <https://www.hfw.com/Syria-Sanctions-EU-Follows-US-Ban>

<sup>172</sup> Council Decision 2011/628/CFSP of 23 September 2011. (2011, September 24) p. 1-5. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:247:0017:0021:EN:PDF>

<sup>173</sup> Council Decision 2011/684/CFSP of 13 October 2011. (2011, October 14) p. 1-3. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:269:0033:0035:EN:PDF>

Nevertheless, May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2013, Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the EU decided to raise an embargo on the arms sale for the rebels, this decision coming into effect on August 1<sup>st</sup>.<sup>174</sup> Two problems were born: if the delivery of weapons is authorized, let us keep very in memory the fact that the Syrian rebels establish hardly a homogeneous group; thus, the question is: how the selection of the group who will benefit from it will be made? How to be sure that weapons fall well in “good ones” hands?

Also, if European countries decide to deliver weapons to opposition forces, then allies of Bashar Al Assad's regime, could also accelerate their arms sales. However, today's debate does not focus on arms sales but intervention. Marine Le Pen (National Front) set against intervention, but by playing on its register: “It would consist in coming to bring a help obvious for Al Qaida, for the Islamic fundamentalism, which is operating in Syria today.”<sup>175</sup> Jean-Luc Mélenchon denounced the influence of the United States on the French position and qualified Hollande as “an auxiliary” of the United States. He preferred the hypothesis of the intervention.<sup>176</sup>

On the issues of security and freedom, the Amsterdam Treaty is one of the biggest steps the EU has taken. The Amsterdam Treaty endeavors to subdue inconsistencies between the aims of the CFSP and the means accessible to the Union to reach those goals. Title 5 of the Treaty on EU oversees the CFSP. Article 2 also addresses the CFSP by mentioning one of its objectives “asserting its identity on the international area, through the implementation of a CFSP, including the eventual framing of a common defense policy, which might in time lead to a common defense.”<sup>177</sup> The CFSP was created so

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<sup>174</sup> Wintour, P., & Traynor, I. (2013, May 27). Syria: EU split over push to lift rebel arms embargo. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/27/syria-eu-split-rebel-arms-embargo>

<sup>175</sup> AFP, L'express. (2013, September 8). Syrie: pour Marine Le Pen, François Hollande a reculé. Retrieved from [https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/monde/proche-moyen-orient/syrie-pour-marine-le-pen-francois-hollande-a-recule\\_1279632.htm](https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/monde/proche-moyen-orient/syrie-pour-marine-le-pen-francois-hollande-a-recule_1279632.htm)

<sup>176</sup> Libération – « Syrie : Mélenchon veut un vote et dénonce l'atlantisme de Hollande » (2013, October 1) Retrieved from [http://www.liberation.fr/politiques/2013/09/01/syrie-melenchon-veut-un-vote-et-denonce-1-atlantisme-de-hollande\\_928657](http://www.liberation.fr/politiques/2013/09/01/syrie-melenchon-veut-un-vote-et-denonce-1-atlantisme-de-hollande_928657)

<sup>177</sup> Treaty on the EU, (1992), Title I, Common Provisions, Article B.



that the EU could address international issues better. Member states and sometimes the organization itself funded the CFSP operations a system that caused some debate about its efficiency.

The Treaty of Amsterdam has solved the problem by making CFSP operations getting their money from the community budget with the exceptions of operations and military implications. With the issue regarding military member states are free to remain from contributing to the budget. In situations where member states are expected to pay the cost is divided according to member states' GNPs.

As part of the EU's CFSP, the CSDP includes the Union's civilian missions and military operations.<sup>178</sup> Also, the Lisbon Treaty provides legal direction to the Union while strengthening its budget and political influence. With the new challenges the EU faces regarding the security, the CSDP continues to evolve to meet the needs. In order to debate on CFSP, the EU has decided to organize interparliamentary conferences once a year starting from 2012.

According to Article X. of the Dublin II Regulation issued by the EU concerning refugees, if a man searching for shelter is entered to the country illegally through sea, land, or air at the edge of a Member State, the Member State that has crossed the periphery as a result of the examination of the exile application will be reliable.<sup>179</sup> By the day's end, if unlawful outcasts from the Southern European countries, for instance, Greece and Spain, are gotten in Central and Northern European countries, Germany and Sweden, these countries have the benefit to re-send these individuals to Greece or Spain. In this arrangement, we also see the condition in which Germany is not seen as an outcast from third-country security. In the same way, Germany's need is not to recognize more refugees, but instead to secure laborers in third countries with progressively fruitful periphery controls.

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<sup>178</sup> Common Security and Defence Policy. (2018, May 3). Retrieved from [https://eas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp/431/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp\\_en](https://eas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp/431/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en)

<sup>179</sup> EU Regulation No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013. (2013, June 29). Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32013R0604:EN:HTML>

Periphery security has been tended to as Schengen has completed in the European coordination process. Following this, the Dublin Regulation has achieved an end. In any case, the measures taken for edge security have reproved, perhaps guaranteeing the Dublin Regulation has made the EU distant by primary culture affiliations operating in human rights. The EU also is endeavoring to deal with this issue by making a coordinated effort with movement countries that are not participants of the Union. For this circumstance, joint endeavors with non-EU countries, for instance, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt, are important. To prevent development; it is in like manner imperative to express, that there have been attempts to help countries to emigrate from the affiliation and to upgrade human rights. Be that as it may, the more remarkable part of this is to improve the poor conditions in the emigrating countries.

- **The European Union's Neighborhood Policy**

The Neighborhood Policy of the European Union is a key policy when it comes to immigration. It helps us to understand the European Union's action plans and in relation to France, it helps us learn how policies implemented by the European Union are binding for France and how it is affecting its policies.

The European Neighborhood Policy is a foreign relations tool of the EU that tries to relate those nations on the Eastern and Southern regions of the Union.<sup>180</sup> The ENP does not have any significant bearing assistantship to all neighbors but rather to EU member states. The EU offers monetary help inside the ENP, as long as nations are meeting measures or wishing to retain positive advancements. This procedure is characterized by the Action Plan and concurred by all member states. The ENP does exclude the nations which are in the EU enlargement plan, yet additionally in the EFTA or the Western European small states.

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<sup>180</sup> Hiski Haukkala (2008) The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy, Europe-Asia Studies, 60:9, 1601-1622, DOI: 10.1080/09668130802362342

Between 2004-2007 the European Neighborhood Policy has encountered its highest incorporation, which is called "Big bang" coordination, and with ENP, EU centers around Southern and Eastern nations developed in the areas of cultivating vote-based systems, security, exchange, and general strength. As of now, there are 16 ENP nations: Syria, Palestine, Ukraine, Israel, Algeria, Jordan, Belarus, Armenia, Egypt, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, Republic of Moldova. The EU and its Neighborhood accomplice nations work both reciprocally and locally to propel the participation.<sup>181</sup>

Furthermost on a fundamental level, the "Neighborhood" is more than merely a geological term. In the meantime, it includes a geopolitical idea. It is based on the 2004's "big bang enlargement " and it was a sign where the limits of the EU would remain calm for some time. At the time, collaboration with the South was more enacted (through the Barcelona Process established in 1995) than collaboration with nations like Armenia, Moldova, Belarus, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. That needed to change with Eastern expansion. Nowadays, because of the aspirations of the members, cooperation is particularly essential for the relationship with the East. The ENP had been updated in 2011, after the Arab Spring. With guarding its qualities on various districts, the EU has put four primary concerns on its newly revised policy on good governance, economic development, security, migration, and mobility.

#### - **UNHCR 1951 Refugee Convention**

The 1951 Refugee Convention (Geneva Convention) is the key authoritative record to secure the existence of refugees, opportunity, and poise of people also. The Geneva Convention (1951) on the refugees' status, mentions the fear that there will be abuse for a person because of his or her family, religion, nationality, an explicit party enlistment or political examinations that do not want to return to the country they have immigrated from. IRL supports refugees whose lives may be in danger at their homes and should not return to their country. This is a thought about overall law, and UNHCR fills in as a 'watchman' of the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol. In this sense, States are depended upon to work together and guarantee dislodged individuals.

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<sup>181</sup> European Neighbourhood Policy. (2016, December 21). Retrieved from [https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/330/european-neighbourhood-policy-enp\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/330/european-neighbourhood-policy-enp_en)

After World War Two, inside the advanced UN setting, the protection of outcasts has put into the present place of security of refugees. Two primary segments shaped this structure, which is the UNHCR in December 1950, and 1951 Geneva Convention following, describing who can profit from the uprooted individual status and involving the rights associated with it. As shown by the 1951 Convention, the word 'refugee' should concern everybody free from their race, religion, political inclination, religion, nationality, and so on. This is a critical complement over the clarity of the Convention, which acknowledges a wide region over uprooted individuals who are hesitant to reestablish their homes.

- **Geneva Tradition's "Geographical Limitations"**

Additionally, to theories and conventions, it is important to mention the Geographical Limitation since the migration itself is a phenomenon related to locations. The benefit to the asylum is a noteworthy right and a worldwide responsibility of the states. As Eurostat mentioned, the European Statistical Office has gotten the most asylum affirms in the EU countries in 2014, trailed by Sweden and Italy.<sup>182</sup>

Besides, concerning per capita density, Sweden is the first, and Germany is the eighth. When we look at the UNHCR 2014 data, we see that the greatest number of refugees with 5.1 million are from Palestine. This number is followed by 3.88 million from Syria and 2.59 million from Afghanistan.<sup>183</sup> A portion of the Convention's guidelines, for instance, not sending someone back to a country where they witness mistreatment, are also seen as standard worldwide law.<sup>184</sup> In the UNHRC's reports of stateless individuals has been announced that; "Considering that the movement of the rights to protect puts undue weight on explicit states because of their topographical condition and that a

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<sup>182</sup> Eurostate Newsrelease. 44/2016 (2016, March 4). p. 1–6. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6>

<sup>183</sup> UNHCR, Global Trends. Forced Displacement in 2014, updated as of 12 May 2015, pp. 13-15

<sup>184</sup> Deutsche Welle, N. M. (2016, July 28). Refugee Convention of 1951 still crucial cornerstone of human rights: DW: 28.07.2016. Retrieved from <http://www.dw.com/en/refugee-convention-of-1951-still-crucial-cornerstone-of-human-rights/a-19429093>

classy game plan of an issue of which the UN has seen the overall degree and environment can't cultivate without widespread support to pass on outcasts all through the world."<sup>185</sup>

- **A Refugee "Relocation" System**

With the relocation system, refugees can be placed in a country with accommodation, food and basic needs for these reasons, the relocation system is important to integrate the refugees into the society and sustain their needs. Development is the trading of individuals who require comprehensive security, beginning with one EU Member State then onto the following EU Member State. The Commission, in a general sense, proposed to accomplish an unchanging structure with this control. The Commission chooses the guideline focuses underneath;

1. The augmentation in the number of shelter competitors over the latest a half year.
2. The addition in the quantity of erratic periphery crossing points over the latest a half year.
3. The number of refugee applications per capita appeared differently in relation to the EU typical.

The number of individuals to be moved will be settled, not higher than 40% of the number of usages made in the past half-year. Development can simply apply to a contender for which the typical affirmation estimation of complete conservation at the EU level is above 75%.

#### **5.4. HOW THE EUROPEAN UNION'S MIGRATION POLICY AFFECT SYRIANS?**

After examining the debates, the European Union had, the policies they enacted and the theories surrounding the issue of the immigration, it is significant to examine and

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<sup>185</sup> UNHCR, The Refugee Convention, 1951. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/4ca34be29.pdf>

analyze how the actions were taken by the EU (and especially France which was the focus of the previous chapters) have affected and continue to affect the Syrian refugees.

The most important document of the European Union about refugee policy is the European Timetable on Migration. As indicated by this archive, the European Union pledged to make timely progress to prevent additional losses of life and strengthen the security of its borders. Similarly, the Common European Asylum System (CEA) is essential for the EU when it comes to migration. As indicated by Dublin System: "Where asylum searcher moves to several European Union members, the CEA allows those members to send the refugee to the first European Union he arrived at so that the nation will maintain the privileges of the refugee."<sup>186</sup> However, this rule started a heated debate among the EU countries.

For instance, Greece, Italy, and Hungary have offered some proposals to create changes to this rule. In 2015 more than 1 million refuge searchers and vagrants arrived at the soil of the EU using the Mediterranean, which turned into the deadliest relocation courses on the planet.

As indicated by the UNHCR, 84 % of those refugees suffered from yet different conditions in nations like Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq.<sup>187</sup> Thus, half of that 84% were Syrians, while 20% were the Afghans 13 % of them made out of Eritreans, Somalis, and Iraqis.<sup>188</sup> Moreover, 33.000 Syrians did not receive official refugee titles. 85% of the present refugee shelters in the European Union, for the most part, are situated in Germany. It is likewise expressed in the European Agenda on Migration that the most significant burden is on Turkey's shoulders: Approximately 3.6 a colossal number of

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<sup>186</sup> Takle, M., & Seeberg, M. L. (2015, December). All European countries are not the same! The Dublin Regulation and onward migration in Europe. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285582739\\_All\\_European\\_countries\\_are\\_not\\_the\\_same\\_The\\_Dublin\\_Regulation\\_and\\_onward\\_migration\\_in\\_Europe](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285582739_All_European_countries_are_not_the_same_The_Dublin_Regulation_and_onward_migration_in_Europe)

<sup>187</sup> United Nations. (n.d.). Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015.html>

<sup>188</sup> Crawley, H., Duvell, F., Jones, K. and Skleparis, D. (2016) 'Understanding the dynamics of migration to Greece and the EU: drivers, decisions and destinations', MEDMIG Research Brief No.2

refugees are in shelters Turkey.<sup>189</sup> In the great case of where there is a lot to be picked up from venturing up collaboration is Turkey. Since the start of 2014, Turkey has gotten €79 million to add to its endeavors to manage the process, one its exile the executives' framework, and to help forestall perilous voyages in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>190</sup> Sending has committed FRONTEX association officer in Turkey that will make participation one stride. The quantity of unlawful migration drastically expanded in 2015 and condensed in 2016 in line with the diminishing pressure of the Syrian Civil War in that year. At the point when the FRONTEX reports inspected, one can perceive that not just the Syrians are attempting to cross to Europe using the Western Balkans,<sup>191</sup> it comprehended that an extreme arrival of migration from Afghanistan and Iraq is happening particularly.

FRONTEX reports demonstrate that the migration wave is commonly connected with the Syrian war.<sup>192</sup> In any case, the way that the neighboring nations of Syria opened their fringes with the end goal to safeguard the unfortunate war casualties, many individuals that are in need of leaving their nations, found a chance to escape from common wars or hostile to equitable practices. Besides, the movement stream has made an open door for Kosovo nationals to cross the Serbia outskirts unlawfully. Because Serbia received a visa freedom concurrence with the EU, the Kosovo nationals like to cross Serbia-Kosovo fringe to go to other European nations.

Thus, to end the Civil War in Syria will not be sufficient to take care of the immigration issue. Even though when the war ends, those individuals should think better about

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<sup>189</sup> Medmig. (n.d) Understanding the Dynamics of Migration. Retrieved from <http://www.medmig.info/research-brief-02-Understanding-the-dynamics-of-migration-to-Greece-and-the-EU>

<sup>190</sup> UNHCR. (2014). Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Turkey- UNHCR Country. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/en/refugees-and-asylum-seekers-in-turkey>

<sup>191</sup> Migratory Routes. (2017). Retrieved from <https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-balkan-route/>

<sup>192</sup> Migratory Routes. (2017). Retrieved from <https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-balkan-route/>

leaving their nations and arriving at the Western nations. So, the outcast emergency is fundamental as opposed to a patterned issue.<sup>193</sup>

European migration policy helps the refugees to arrive at a destination safely. Money founded by the EU member states is generally used to offer better living conditions to the refugees. Looking from the security aspect, it can be seen that the policies of the European Union are protecting the refugees from harming themselves while trying to use illegal routes for their migration, however, the fact that the EU has chosen the close its borders and many refugees residing in tampon border states like Turkey shows that these policies posses an obstacle for the refugees, since many of them wish to migrate to the European countries.

#### **5.5. THE DIFFERENCE OF FRANCE'S AND EUROPEAN UNION'S APPROACHES ON MIGRATION AND ON SYRIAN MIGRATION CRISIS**

France served as the EU Presidency between 1 July 2008 and 31 December 2008.<sup>194</sup> The best way to integrate immigrants into society, is to determine a route plan for citizenship and to give them a sense of being a stakeholder in their country of residence. However, some EU countries put effective obstacles for immigrants to naturalize. Some countries argue that immigrants must wait up to ten years before they can apply for citizenship.

For a common solution, it turned towards an agreement with the countries in the south. Thus, France aimed to establish good relations between the European Union and its Mediterranean neighbors within the framework of the "Mediterranean Union" initiative. The enactment of the 2006 French Immigration and Integration Act, highlighted the difficulties that exist in terms of reaching a compromise, despite the insistence on a common EU immigration policy. Secondly, the 2006 French Immigration and

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<sup>193</sup> Jarvinen, S. (2015). European Union As An Actor In Solving The Syrian Crisis- Reasons For Successful Interference. Retrieved from <https://digikogu.taltech.ee/testimine/et/Download/96f19e37-3eb8-44de-adfb-4615743f8ecf/EuroopaLiitSriakriisilahendamiselnurjunud.pdf>

<sup>194</sup> Official Journal of the European Union, <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2004:158:0077:0123:en:PDF>



Integration Act indicates that the future outcome of EU policies will take place in a security-oriented and restrictive way. France's latest immigration law reinforces this prevailing popularity across the EU by removing automatic regulation and seeking the mandatory integration of potential long-term residents in France. In recent years, with the free movement laws of the EU, cheap workers have found the opportunity to work by moving rapidly towards the west. Although EU countries interact in their immigration policies, but there is a lack of practice. The clearest example of this is that the asylum-seeker, whose refugee status is refused by France today, can go to other countries, such as England, where they can be accepted more easily.

Undoubtedly, one of the milestones of EU immigration policy is "Free Movement and Residence Right". What is meant by these rights is, the non-economic right of movement and residence. People residing in a member state must be treated equally with citizens of that state in terms of both being subject to responsibilities and exercising rights within the meaning of Regulation 883/2004. When a state takes an action that does not comply with the Union's legislation, it can justify its policy by putting forward its own national legislation. Although the legislation of the countries may not exactly match the EU legislation, but it is important to at least harmonize the policies.

The EU population is aging and the Union, especially France, needs a workforce to guarantee its future. Every year France sends back 80% of those who seek asylum in France to their countries. This situation turns to the country as a system that creates "illegal immigrants" rather than a precaution or prevention. Although France seems to be flexible in its policy with its selective immigration breakthrough and reopening its borders, albeit indirectly, it does not give positive signals for the future of the immigration policy of the Union.

Among the plans of the EU; to take control of asylum seekers and immigrants in the same place by creating migrant camps in countries bordering the Union. The purpose of this plan is to ensure that every member country of the Union can choose immigrants in line with the needs of workers. However, this approach is contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention and the Geneva Convention. Many European organizations working on migrants and asylum seekers opposed the establishment of such camps outside of European borders. They advocated ensuring their security, emphasizing that all countries should bear responsibility for the protection of refugees. On the other hand, looking at France, it is seen that the government has set numerical targets for deportation. In addition to the EU's policy making only with its own mechanisms, each member state must also harmonize its national legislation. However, the European Union has difficulties in this regard and cannot act monophonically.

It is a fact that one of the main points that the EU struggles with in the field of immigration, is illegal immigration. The Schengen Agreement is an important development in terms of removing internal borders and increasing the mobility of citizens within the EU. France was initially in agreement with the EU's migration policies, but; has brought the suspension of the Schengen Agreement due to the illegal immigration flows to the country. The suspension of this agreement, which constitutes the EU immigration policy, should be subject to serious questioning. France cannot fight on the illegal immigration alone. Governments should take responsibility for social consensus. However, the rising far-right policies among EU member states strengthen concerns that racism and xenophobia will increase in the future. For example, the fact that the Front National party, which is famous for its anti-immigrant policies in France, has become effective in the public opinion by increasing its votes day by day shows that the concerns are not unfounded.

After “the free movement of persons” was ensured, another area that the EU has taken over has been “the status of asylum seekers”. With the Dublin Convention, member states have reached a consensus on visas, border controls, immigration and asylum law. At the Seville Summit, emphasis was placed on "preventive measures" and how to deter

people before immigration was emphasized. Economic cooperation with the country of origin and support for their development will positively contribute to the welfare of the country, thus reducing the underlying causes of migration.

The European Union has started to cooperate closely with the countries of origin on security and aimed to protect its borders and to create a common security system within the Union with applications such as FRONTEX, EUROPOL, and EURODAC. The fact that immigration is often perceived as a threat to their national security by member states, and has also encouraged the development of policies in this regard.

France's approach to immigration movements with a defense that France protects its national values, shows that France will have problems in the future. Because immigrants who come to the country due to this approach, may have problems of adaptation and may cause prejudices among French citizens. The important point is to be able to reconcile with immigration, to ensure the integration of immigrants into the society and to increase the deterrence of illegal immigration and to ensure its realization legally. On the other hand, asylum seekers and refugees should not be turned away, and policies should be more sensitive in the field of human rights.

Syrian migrants prefer to migrate to Europe in order to live a better lives. While appoxiametely 10.1 millions of migrant went to Germany in 2019, 4.5 to 6.55 million migrants went to either France or Spain. In France, 7.2% of the population consists of foreigners<sup>195</sup> which proves that France does not receive many migrants. The reason why Germany is preffered the most is the fact that Germany is willing to welcome migrants due to the lack of cheap labor force. On the contrary, France does not want to accept migrants since it has high rates of unemployment.

France stated they want to help Syria in 3<sup>rd</sup> Brussels Conferance that was held on March 2019. France has stated they will be giving over 1 billion euros to neighbouring

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<sup>195</sup> Toute L'Europe. (2020, March 05). Asile et migrations dans l'Union européenne. Retrieved from <https://www.touteleurope.eu/actualite/asile-et-migrations-dans-l-union-europeenne.html>

countries of Syria: Lebanon and Jordan and to Syria that will help people who are residing in harsh conditions between 2019 and 2021.<sup>196</sup>

EU stated that they are creating initiatives for Mediterranean in 1970s with the Global Mediterranean Policy and the Euro-Arab Dialogue. EU and EC have started to work together to help people who were affected by the Arab Springs. The Barcelona process of 1995 establishing the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) developed this process. Later, with the participation of EU candidate countries (like Turkey) Union for Mediterranean was formed. EU countries agreed on helping Syria on the issue democracy, human rights, human resources development, human rights/ civil society, industrial modernization, trade enhancement and institution-building.<sup>197</sup> “The EU outlined a Syria strategy in 2013, two years after the initial statement was made. During this period, the EU persistently called for Assad’s resignation, promising to provide support to Syria within the framework of a renewed partnership on condition that a democratic transition process starts in the country.”<sup>198</sup> Then, EU recognized Syrian National Council (SNC) as the legitimate interlocutor for Syria. EU’s strategies for Syria are finishing the war, reestablishing the unity and solidarity within the country, saving lives, improving humanitarian situation, supporting NGOs, creating new job opportunities, regulating the education system, helping local civilian governance structures. “As stated in the Council of EU, ‘...the neighbourhood is a strategic priority and a fundamental interest for the EU...’ to develop an area of shared stability, security and prosperity.”<sup>199</sup> Thus, most of the Syria’s responsibility has been left to the neighbouring countries. For this, EU make financial payments to countries like Turkey.

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<sup>196</sup> Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, F. (2018). War in Syria: Understanding France's position. Retrieved from <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/syria/war-in-syria-understanding-france-s-position/>

<sup>197</sup> Euro-Med Partnership, “Syria Country Strategy Paper 2002-2006 and National Indicative Programme 2002-4”, p.2, [http://eas.europa.eu/archives/docs/syria/csp/02\\_06\\_en.pdf](http://eas.europa.eu/archives/docs/syria/csp/02_06_en.pdf) (Accessed on 02 February 2018).

<sup>198</sup> Turkmani and Haid, “The Role of the EU”, p.9

<sup>199</sup> Düvell, F. (2016). The EU’s International Relations and Migration Diplomacy at Times of Crisis: Key Challenges and Priorities. Retrieved 2016, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/815473>

“European countries with the extreme right have made significant gains (Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, and UK) whilst in five they lost votes (Italy, Belgium, Greece, Netherlands, and Romania)”.<sup>200</sup> “Meanwhile, 56 percent were (very) negative about immigration from outside the EU (Czech Republic 81%, Greece 78%, Slovakia 77%, Italy and Hungary 70%, Austria 60%, France 58%, Poland 53%).”<sup>201</sup> Additionally, since many European countries are Christians, many Europeans are feel uncomfortable because of Muslim Syrians.

To conclude, EU tries to find funds to distribute migrants to various countries. France specifically tries to take actions that will not exceed their capacity and jeopardize their security. Also, different NGOs and GOs in France help Syrians with education, health issues and transportation of migrants from Syria to France. However, EU’s first priority is to fund countries that will keep migrants from entering Europe.

## **5.6. CONCLUSION**

After the two world wars the issue of security has become a prominent one for the European Union. One of the main threats to the EU’s security in history is the migration crisis that is caused by the Syrian Civil War. In the other chapters of the thesis the effects of the Syrian Civil War on France were explained in-depth while in this chapter, the effects of the crisis on the EU have been explained. Even though the EU may decide on policies, every member state can create their own policies and take a different stand thus regulations are under the control of states’ governments. As many refugees choose Europe as their destination, the EU and its members had problems with deciding on a single policy. The EU’s policy seems to be centered around making financial payments to countries that may be able to keep refugees from entering Europe, however, this policy is considered to be a short-term solution and is surrounded by many debates. The difference between France and the EU’s approaches on Syrian migration crisis was

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<sup>200</sup> Gregor Aisch, Adam Pearce and Bryant Rousseau, “How far Is Europe swinging to the right?”, New York Times, 22 May 2016.

<sup>201</sup> Gregor Aisch, Adam Pearce and Bryant Rousseau, “How far Is Europe swinging to the right?”, New York Times, 22 May 2016.

analyzed and we can see that EU tries to find funds to distribute migrants to various countries. France specifically tries to take actions that will not exceed their capacity and jeopardize their security. Also, different NGOs and GOs in France help Syrians with education, health issues and transportation of migrants from Syria to France. However, EU's first priority is to fund countries that will keep migrants from entering Europe.



## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

### 6.1. CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of the thesis, an analysis of migration and migration theories' framework has been done. After World War II, the term migration has started to be more known and now it's a crucial part of the 21st Century's political scene. While doing analyses of migrations, examining the reasons and effects of migrations are essential. Analyses must be done in accordance to cause, duration and place. Mandatory and voluntary migrations are categories of causes, continuous and temporary are of duration and internal and external are of place. In the thesis, we looked into mandatory and external categories. Since some refugees residing in France are planning to go back to their country while others do not; we cannot categorize the duration.

Many national and international treaties have been signed through to history to solve problems of migration. The most prominent ones, Geneva Convention, New York Protocol About Refugees' Legal Status, Arab Convention on Regulating the Status of Refugees and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees was explained in the related chapter. These treaties mention the rights given to the refugees and the duty of protecting them that falls to the global community. Asylum requests are a part of the global community's responsibility. *“if a refugee enters the country, they want to take refuge in they should not be faced with measures such as deportation or forced return.” (Article 31. 1.).*

There can be many reasons to migrate but in the case of Syrian Refugee Crisis, we can see that reasons tend to be economic (to sustain their lives), social (to protect their

wellbeing), political (to flee political oppression), and environmental migration (to flee the war environment).

In the thesis, one theory of migration was examined. The ties between the colonies and the colonial power strengthen the historical ties and fasten the process of migration. Because of the French Mandate period, France and Syria share colonial ties. In general refugees tend to prefer migrating to countries that their relatives have previously migrated to so that they can get familiar with the country better. Migration is caused by the necessities of modern and industrialized societies and the reasons behind the migration are not the pull factors but push factors of countries.

There is an expanding worrisome approach about security “threat” that happens in the Middle East, many refugees experience the ill effects of this misconception. Like in Europe, the expanded number of refugees has been a genuine concern since 2011, with the Arab Spring, yet the EU remains deficient with the end goal to react to the Syrian refugee crisis. Syrian refugees are seen as a big threat to the security of Europe. One of the biggest concerns is the fact that many Syrian refugees are Muslim, and they can be a threat to Christian values. Since Syrian refugees seeking jobs are willing to accept a job with low wages, employees are more willing to employ refugees which might cause a rise in the unemployment rate for the local population. Speeches of the French government officials and public releases also influences the attitude of the public towards the refugee. Sometimes these speeches can influence the public in an anti-immigration manner as it happened with Marine Le Pen.

An analysis of the Syrian Civil War has been done by separating the timeline into two: before the Civil War and after the Civil War. During the Civil War, the citizens have lost their jobs, wealth, health, rights, and even their relatives. Due to all these reasons, many Syrians have chosen to migrate to another country in search of better lives. Syrians main goals are to have a secure life and obtain a better economic situation thus Europe is an important destination. In this thesis, the focus was on the Syrians migrating to France. Wars, a decrease in natural resources and economic problems, human rights violations, and the increase in population are reasons for migration.



Throughout the thesis, it is examined that the physical the cause behind the Syrian Refugee Crisis is the act of fleeing from war, the human cause is the search for wellbeing and the organizational cause is the act of fleeing from political oppression.

According to the French Law, the refugee status of a person is considered by his race, religion, political beliefs, gender, and sexual orientation. The Government of France can opt to reject a person's application for the refugee status if it finds the person to be a national threat, a terrorist with previous records, or a criminal with previous records. A person can be under subsidiary protection but may not be regarded as a refugee under the French Law. These people are mainly the ones that had to witness torture or violence during armed conflicts. Those who committed crimes against humanity disturbed the peace and violated the UN principles are mainly denied from subsidiary protection.

The facts that there is not enough accommodation, the lengthy processes, lack of training for culture and language, lack of medical aid, lack of working opportunities, the public's attitude towards the refugees make Syrian refugees stay away from France.

Nearly half of the French citizens believe that the Syrian refugees chose to migrate to their country because of economic reasons.<sup>202</sup> Coupled with the existing unemployment, entrance of the Syrian refugees to the workforce poses a threat to the French public. The public believes that there are enough Syrian refugees in their country, and they do not wish to host more. Throughout the thesis news articles from 20 Minutes journal on the dates between 13 November 2015 and 30 December 2015 on the Paris Attack were examined. The French Attack has also brought out the issue of refugees and terrorism. The majority of the public opinion believes that the rising number of Muslim refugees in their country possesses a threat to the French culture. 3 French people out of 4 do not trust the European leaders to settle the crisis of the migrants. Many started to believe

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<sup>202</sup> AFP, 20 Minutes. (2019, June 21). Un Français sur deux doute que les réfugiés soient de "vrais réfugiés". Retrieved from <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/2545647-20190621-migration-moitie-francais-doute-refugies-vrais-refugies>

that more refugees meant more terrorist attacks and anti-Muslim sentiments seen a rise. Most of the French citizens see immigrants as “a burden to the social insurance and welfare system of the receiving country and they are often perceived as abusers of the country’s welfare system.”<sup>203</sup> Since many refugees coming into their country are in poor economic conditions, they worry that the refugees will be also a burden to the housing and education systems.

Syrian refugees mainly prefer countries of the European Union as their destination thus it is vital to understand the viewpoint of the EU. In 1977, the relations of Syria with the EU started with the signing of an agreement of cooperation concerning the economic, technical, financial, and commercial issues. The Neighborhood Policy of the European Union is a key policy when it comes to immigration. It helps us to understand the European Union’s action plans and in relation to France, it helps us learn how policies implemented by the European Union are binding for France and how it is affecting its policies.

## **6.2. IMPLICATION ON THE BROAD LITERATURE/ THE SCOPE CONDITIONS AND LIMITATIONS**

In the 20th Century migration became an important topic within the social and political literature and this trend continues in the 21st Century.<sup>204</sup> On migration, many conventions, treaties, and theories have been created but the topic has affected mainly the works of security and economics. This study also focuses on the ties between security and migration while using the Push and Pull factors theory. In this vein, the connection between migration and the EU’s responses to the Syrian refugee crisis was elaborated. On the other hand, the examination of Syria and France, reveals how French citizens react to the refugees and the living conditions of the Syrian refugees. Throughout the writing of the thesis, it has been understood that there are not enough numerical information regarding the number of Syrian refugees who are benefiting from

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<sup>203</sup> Kert Valdaru, E.-M. A., & Mälksoo, L. (2017). The Impact of the Refugee Crisis on Europe and Estonia. Retrieved from <https://inimareng.ee/en/migration-and-demographic-changes-in-estonia-and-europe/the-impact-of-the-refugee-crisis-on-europe-and-estonia/>

<sup>204</sup> Massey, D. S. (2003, June). Patterns and Processes of International Migration in the 21st Century. Retrieved May 24, 2020, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.473.925>

French help and how the Syrian Refugee Crisis has affected France. Overall, it can be understood that since the number of Syrian refugees France has been accepting is low in numbers, the refugees did not have any large effects as of now. During the research part of this thesis, it became clear that there are no other academic works related to the effects of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on France analyzed with the push and pull factors theory, thus this thesis can be used as a leading example and a primary source.

### **6.3. FUTURE PROJECTS:**

Future work can be centered on whether the Syrian refugees residing in France are willing to go back to their country and how a plan for the return of these refugees can be crafted and then implemented. Military actions for this process might be examined. A survey can be done to learn if the Syrian refugees in France want to turn back to their countries. EU's actions and funding for this process can be examined while giving importance to understanding how the process of rebuilding for Syria can occur.

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